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The UNESCO Courier

A window open on the world

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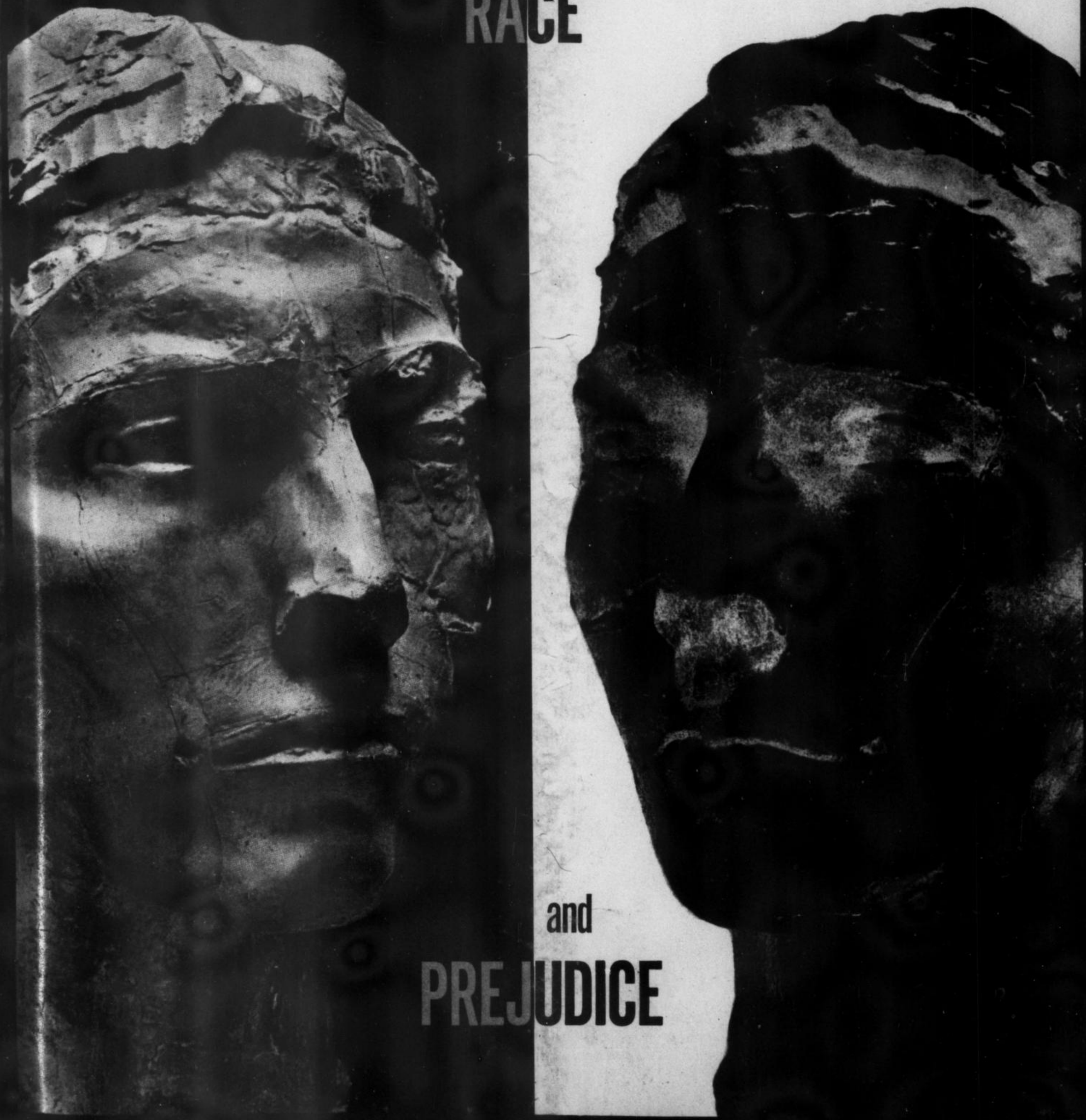
RACE and PREJUDICE



USIS photos

THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR. Top, the immense statue of Abraham Lincoln looks down on a vast crowd gathered at a 1964 rally in support of civil rights legislation before the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. This year the world commemorates the hundredth anniversary of the death of Lincoln, whose Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 opened the way to freedom for Negro slaves in the United States, and the centenary of the final abolition of slavery through the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, on December 18, 1865. Bottom, some of the two million people who annually climb the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to honour the Great Emancipator.

The UNESCO Courier

A WINDOW OPEN ON THE WORLD

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INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION YEAR 1965

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Cover photo

Different yet similar, like all human beings : two photographs, positive and negative, of the same sculpture by Antoine Bourdelle.

Musée Bourdelle, Paris

N° 4
1965

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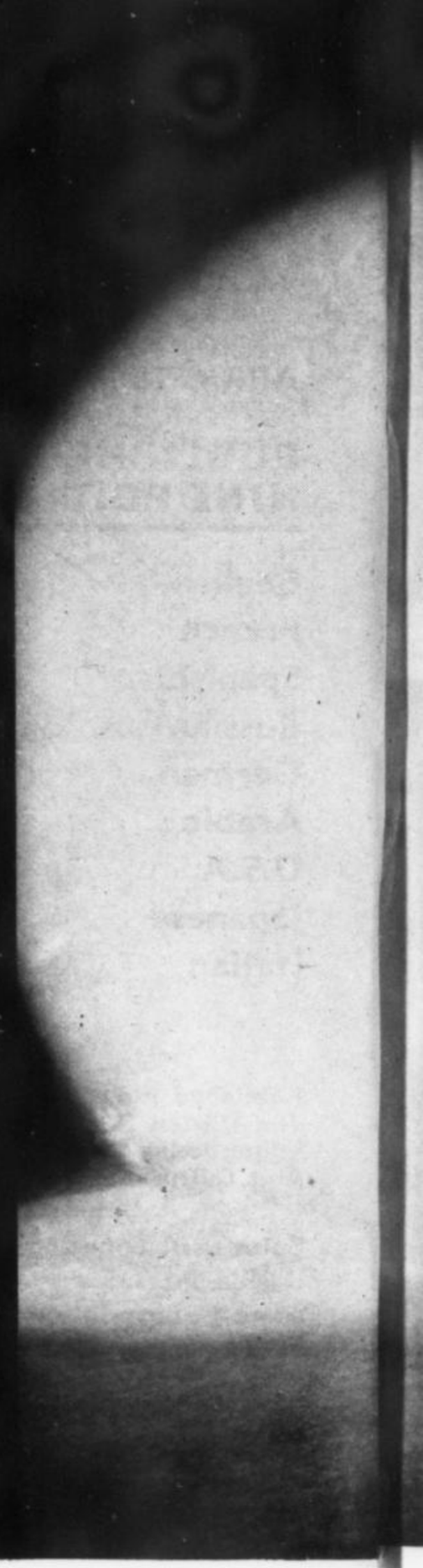
On the occasion of this special issue on race, the Unesco Courier wishes to recall the work carried out by the late Alfred Métraux (1902-1963) who for 13 years was in charge of Unesco's programme on racial questions.

BIOLOGY LOOKS AT RACE

by Georghi F. Debetz

At a Unesco meeting in Moscow, twenty-two scientists drew up and unanimously adopted, on August 18, 1964, a 13-point statement on the biological aspects of the race question (see page 8 for full text). Here the chairman of the meeting reviews its work and conclusions.



Gallo-Roman sculpture from the 3rd century B.C., now in the Borély Museum, Marseille, France.
© Jean Suquet, Paris

RACISM is the expression of a system of thought which is fundamentally anti-rational. Hate and racial strife feed on scientifically false ideas, and live on ignorance. They can also derive from scientifically sound ideas which have been distorted or taken out of context, leading to false implications. To demonstrate these errors of fact and of reasoning, and to spread knowledge of the conclusions reached by different scientific disciplines, Unesco convened in 1949 a meeting of scientists from different countries (1) to draw up a declaration on the nature and significance of racial differences.

The text prepared by these experts and published by Unesco in 1950 was well received by the public, but drew some criticism from anthropologists and geneticists who considered that it caused confusion between race as a biological fact and the idea of race as a social phenomenen.

Unesco therefore called a second conference in 1951, this time exclusively for specialists in physical anthropology and in human genetics. This group drew up a new text in which the main conclusions of the earlier declaration were maintained, others amended and certain deletions made. The text of this new declaration was sent to fifty geneticists and anthropologists for their comments, and the results of this inquiry, including favourable comments and adverse criticisms, were published in book form under the title "The Race Concept."

(1) Brazil, France, India, Mexico, New Zealand, U.K., U.S.A.

Since then Unesco's action has been focused more on the social aspects of race than on the biological ones. On the other hand, scientific advances in the field of human biology during the past fifteen years have clearly shown the need for a fresh study of the 1951 declaration and its revision in the light of the latest biological discoveries. It has also been felt that its scope should be enlarged by encompassing several points, dealing with the nature and forms of racial prejudice in inter-racial situations, that were not previously covered.

Unesco therefore decided to hold two successive meetings: one in 1964 to cover the biological aspects, and a second, in 1966, to deal with the social and ethical aspects of the problem and to draft a statement which, taking account of the results of the 1964 meeting, would englobe both the biological and social aspects of the problem of race.

The first of these meetings was held in Moscow in August 1964 immediately after the VII Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which had taken place in that city. It was attended by anthropologists and ethnologists from 17 countries (2).

During eight sessions twenty-five reports devoted to the main scientific problems related to the study of human races were discussed. At the last two sessions a 13-point decla-

(2) Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Senegal, U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Venezuela.

ration was drafted and adopted unanimously (see page 8). This text will provide the biological elements for the new declaration on race and racial prejudice to be drawn up in 1966.

At one time the essential object of discussions between anthropologists was to decide whether man had one or several ancestors, whether the various races derived from a single species of monkey or from a variety of species. Today, this question can be regarded as finally settled. It was not even raised during the 1964 Moscow meeting. The declaration merely notes, as if to sum up earlier discussions, that "all living human beings belong to a single species, known as 'Homo Sapiens' and are derived from a common stock origin."

The keenest discussion was concerned with the nature of the concept of race as applied to human beings and with the scientific evidence for this concept. It might be thought that no discussion is called for on this question. Everyone knows that as far as many physical features are concerned, the people in various parts of the world frequently differ—as regards colour of skin, type of hair, facial characteristics, etc. It is true that the number of features which all men have in common is very much greater and it is equally true that such common features are biologically of much greater importance than the divergent features. At the same time, differences do exist and are evident at a glance. If, for instance, we were to compare groups made up of Congolese, Swedes and Mongols selected at random, we would have no trouble in identifying each of the three groups. They would not even need to be dressed differently or to speak. Their physical features alone would distinguish them.

While everyone is agreed on this point, many anthropologists are now calling attention to another equally indisputable fact. If, for example, one were to go on foot from the sources of the Nile to the Nile delta, then across the Arab countries of Asia, through Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania and the Ukraine to northern Russia and finally towards Mongolia via the homes of the Udmurt, Bashkir and Kazakh peoples, no difference of physical type would be apparent between the inhabitants of any neighbouring points on this route.

However, if one were to compare the people encountered at the beginning, middle and end of the journey, the differences between them would be manifest. It is for this reason, say the opponents of racial classification, that the division of mankind into rigidly distinct categories is scientifically unsound and results in a completely unacceptable schematic approach.

On the other hand, those who believe that human races should be recognized as distinct entities argue that the existence of transitional stages between any kind of phenomena should not lead us to deny the reality of such phenomena. The hypothetical traveller would not observe any difference in climate between two adjoining points on the route nor between the local fauna, yet classification by regions is useful and even essential to a knowledge of climate and fauna. "Where is the dividing line between the mountain and the valley?" ask the defenders of classification. "Nobody denies the existence of valleys and

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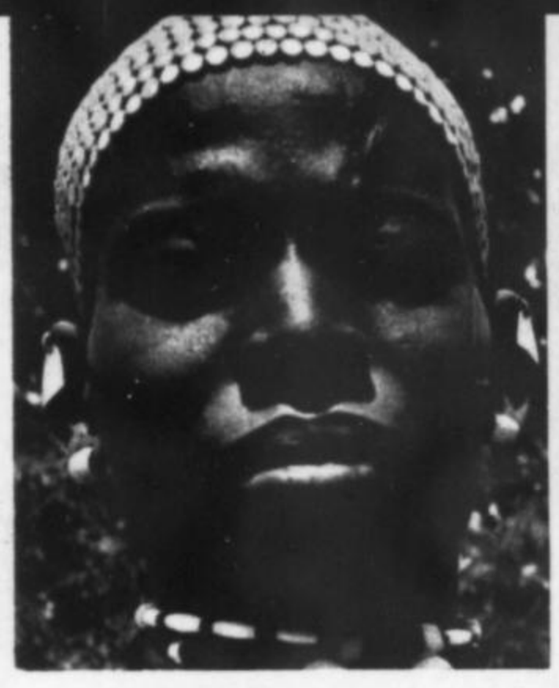

AFRICA (Uganda)

AFRICA (Cameroon)

AFRICA (Sudan)

AFRICA (Egypt)

ASIA (Iran)

ASIA (India)

ASIA (Cambodia)

ASIA (Philippines)

Racism: a distortion of scientific facts

mountains simply because they cannot point to such a line."

Opponents of classification point out that physical features change not only in space but, even more, in time. In central Europe as in other regions, the human head has become much rounder over the last eight centuries but more recently has tended to lengthen again; the average height in certain countries has risen by 10 centimetres in the last 100 years; and so on. Those opposed to classification likewise emphasize the considerable degree of individual variation in regard to all physical features.

The average width of face among the people of Azerbaijan, for instance, is one cm. less than in the case of the Kazakhs; but this measurement varies from one individual to another and some of the former have broader faces than some of the latter. Supporters of classification admit this, but argue that sometimes—and even fairly frequently—women are taller than men. Is this a reason, they ask, for denying the obvious fact that men are generally bigger than women?

Having noted that opinions differed as to the importance of racial classifications, participants in the Moscow meeting nonetheless unanimously felt able to reach certain conclusions which, while not wholly eliminating the disagreements, did indicate that opinions might be brought more into harmony with each other.

One of the points in their declaration was that "as entities defined by sets of distinctive traits, human races are at any time in a process of emergence and dissolution." Still more important is another point in the declaration, contending that "certain physical characters have a universal biological value for the survival of the human species, irrespective of the environment. The differences on which racial classifications are based do not affect these characters and therefore it is not possible from the biological point of view to speak in any way whatsoever of a general inferiority or superiority of this or that race."

All the experts attending the Moscow meeting were specialists in the field of biological science. But a genuinely scientific survey cannot be kept within the framework of a single science. Biologists dealing with human beings cannot bypass the phenomena of social existence. It is indeed because of social existence, as the declaration points out, that "human evolution presents attributes of capital importance which are specific to the species." "As a consequence," the declaration adds, "general adaptability to the most diverse environments is in man more pronounced than his adaptations to specific environments."

This is one of the most important biological differences between man and all other biological species and derives from the very nature of man and his social life. The following point in the declaration should also be noted: "For long millenia, progress made by man, in any field, seems to have been increasingly, if not exclusively, based on culture and the transmission of cultural achievements and not on the transmission of genetic endowment. This implies a modification in the role of natural selection in man today."

Racism, a system which falsifies scientific facts, automatically ascribes to men all those phenomena observed among animals.

The biological elements in the declaration adopted by the 1964 Moscow meeting are therefore a barrier raised against racism. Man is primarily a social being and the funda-

EUROPE (Greece)

EUROPE (Denmark)

EUROPE (Hungary)

ASIA (Jordan)

ASIA (Japan)

AMERICA (Brazil)

On foot across the continents

A traveller making his way across the continents would probably notice few differences in physical type among the inhabitants of neighbouring regions. Differences become obvious when a comparison is made between people from widely separated areas. Thus, say those anthropologists who reject the idea of racial classifications, the division of human beings into rigidly defined groups can only give a schematic and scientifically unacceptable result.

Photos, from left to right : 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Paul Almasy, Paris; 2, C. Tardits; 8, UNRWA; 9, Unesco-Almasy; 10, 13, Unesco; 11, Unations; 12, Unesco - P. A. Pittet; 14, SUDENE.

mental nature of his history is determined by social phenomena.

As is well known, wherever racists are in power they seek to set men of differing races against each other and to use every possible means of preventing the natural intermingling process of the human race. One of the racists' favourite techniques for falsifying science is to assert that interracial marriages are harmful and that the children of such marriages are physically and psychically "deficient."

Here, the declaration is clear and categorical: "It has never been proved that interbreeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole. On the contrary, it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity." Noting that the individual hereditary characteristics of the parents naturally influence their offspring (it may happen that the combination of certain such characteristics has undesirable consequences), the declaration emphasizes that this is not a question of racial differences and that "therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds."

The declaration once again stresses that racial differences do not coincide with national, regligious, linguistic or cultural differences. Here again, social phenomena exercise an influence on the formation of racial, i.e. biological, differences. "Human beings who speak the same language and share the same culture have a tendency to intermarry, and often there is as a result a certain degree of coincidence between physical traits on the one hand, and linguistic and cultural traits on the other," says the declaration. "But there is no known causal nexus between these and therefore it is not justifiable to attribute cultural characteristics to the influence of the genetic inheritance."

Racists claim that races are not equal in respect of psychic qualities. The psychologists who help to draw up the 1966 declaration will be dealing with this point. However, the biologists meeting in Moscow could naturally not pass over this important aspect of the race question.

Like certain major anatomical traits in the human species, the genetic capacity for intellectual development belongs to those biological characteristics which are universally valid, because of its importance for the survival of the species in any natural or cultural environment. The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history:

"Certain psychological traits are at times attributed to particular peoples. Whether or not such assertions are valid, we do not find any basis for ascribing such traits to hereditary factors, until proof to the contrary is given.

"Neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the over-all intelligence and the capacity for cultural development, nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of 'inferior' and 'superior' races."

The anthropologists and other biologists who unanimously adopted the biological elements of the declaration did not do so solely as scientists but also as men. In their desire to emphasize this aspect of their work, participants in the Moscow meeting concluded their declaration in the following words: "The biological data given above stand in open contradiction to the tenets of racism. Racist theories can in no way pretend to have any scientific foundation and the anthropologists should endeavour to prevent the results of their researches from being used in such a biased way that they would serve non-scientific ends."

GEORGHI F. DEBETZ, a Soviet biologist, is a professor at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. He was chairman of the Unesco meeting of biologists, held in Moscow in August 1964.

Biological aspects of race

A DOCUMENT OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE

The undersigned, assembled by Unesco in order to give their views on the biological aspects of the race question and in particular to formulate the biological part for a statement foreseen for 1966 and intended to bring up to date and to complete the declaration on the nature of race and racial differences signed in 1951, have unanimously agreed on the following :

1 **All men living today belong to a single species,** Homo sapiens, **and are derived from a common stock. There are differences of opinion regarding how and when different human groups diverged from this common stock.**

2 Biological differences between human beings are due to differences in hereditary constitution and to the influence of the environment on this genetic potential. In most cases, those differences are due to the interaction of these two sets of factors.

3 **There is great genetic diversity within all human populations. Pure races—in the sense of genetically homogeneous populations—do not exist in the human species.**

4 There are obvious physical differences between populations living in different geographic areas of the world, in their average appearance. Many of these differences have a genetic component.

Most often the latter consist in differences in the frequency of the same hereditary characters.

5 **Different classifications of mankind into major stocks, and of those into more restricted categories (races, which are groups of populations, or single populations) have been proposed on the basis of hereditary physical traits. Nearly all classifications recognize at least three major stocks.**

Since the pattern of geographic variation of the characteristics used in racial classification is a complex one, and since this pattern does not present any major discontinuity, these classifications, whatever they are, cannot claim to classify mankind into clear cut categories; moreover, on account of the complexities of human history, it is difficult to determine the place of certain groups within these racial classifications, in particular that of certain intermediate populations.

Many anthropologists, while stressing the importance of human variation, believe that the scientific interest of these classifications is limited, and even that they carry the risk of inviting abusive generalizations.

Differences between individuals within a race or within a population are often greater than the average differences between races or populations.

Some of the variable distinctive traits which are generally chosen as criteria to characterize a race are either independently inherited or show only varying degrees of association between them within each population. Therefore, the combination of these traits in most individuals does not correspond to the typological racial characterization.

6 In man as well as in animals, the genetic composition of each population is subject to the modifying influence of diverse factors: natural selection, tending towards adaptation to the environment, fortuitous mutations which lead to modifications of the molecules of desoxyribonucleic acid which determine heredity, or random modifications in the frequency of qualitative hereditary characters, to an extent dependent on the patterns of mating and the size of populations.

Certain physical characters have a universal biological value for the survival of the human species, irrespective of the environment. The differences on which racial classifications are based do not affect these characters, and therefore, it is not possible from the biological point of view to speak in any way whatsoever of a general inferiority or superiority of this or that race.

7 Human evolution presents attributes of capital importance which are specific to the species.

The human species, which is now spread over the whole world, has a past rich in migrations, in territorial expansions and contractions.

As a consequence, general adaptability to the most diverse environments is in man more pronounced than his adaptations to specific environments.

For long millennia, progress made by man, in any field, seems to have been increasingly, if not exclusively, based on culture and the transmission of cultural achievements and not on the transmission of genetic endowment. This implies a modification in the rôle of natural selection in man today.

On account of the mobility of human populations and of social factors, mating between members of different human groups which tend to mitigate the differentiations acquired, has played a much more important rôle in human history than in that of animals. The history of any human population or of any human race, is rich in instances of hybridization and those tend to become more and more numerous.

For man, the obstacles to inter-breeding are geographical as well as social and cultural.

8 At all times, the hereditary characteristics of the human populations are in dynamic equilibrium as a result of this inter-breeding and of the differentiation mechanisms which were mentioned before. As entities defined by sets of distinctive traits, human races are at any time in a process of emergence and dissolution.

Human races in general present a far less clear-cut characterization than many animal races and they cannot be compared at all to races of domestic animals, these being the result of heightened selection for special purposes.

9 **It has never been proved that inter-breeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole.**

On the contrary, it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity.

The biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic make-up of the couple and not on their race.

Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds.

10 Man since his origin has at his disposal ever more efficient cultural means of non-genetic adaptation.

11 **Those cultural factors which break social and geographic barriers, enlarge the size of the breeding populations and so act upon their genetic structure by diminishing the random fluctuations (genetic drift).**

12 As a rule, the major stocks extend over vast territories encompassing many diverse populations which differ in language, economy, culture, etc.

There is no national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural group which constitutes a race ipso facto ; the concept of race is purely biological.

However, human beings who speak the same language and share the same culture have a tendency to inter-marry, and often there is as a result a certain degree of coincidence between physical traits on the one hand, and linguistic and cultural traits on the other. But there is no known causal nexus between these and therefore it is not justifiable to attribute cultural characteristics to the influence of the genetic inheritance.

13 **Most racial classifications of mankind do not include mental traits or attributes as a taxonomic criterion.**

Heredity may have an influence in the variability shown by individuals within a given population in their responses to the psychological tests currently applied.

However, no difference has ever been detected convincingly in the hereditary endowments of human groups in regard to what is measured

by these tests. On the other hand, ample evidence attests to the influence of physical, cultural and social environment on differences in response to these tests.

The study of this question is hampered by the very great difficulty of determining what part heredity plays in the average differences observed in so-called tests of overall intelligence between populations of different cultures.

The genetic capacity for intellectual development, like certain major anatomical traits peculiar to the species, is one of the biological traits essential for its survival in any natural or social environment.

The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any civilizational level. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history.

Certain psychological traits are at times attributed to particular peoples. Whether or not such assertions are valid, we do not find any basis for ascribing such traits to hereditary factors, until proof to the contrary is given.

Neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the overall intelligence and the capacity for cultural development, nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of "inferior" and "superior" races.

The biological data given above are in open contradiction to the tenets of racism. Racist theories can in no way pretend to have any scientific foundation and the anthropologists should endeavour to prevent the results of their research from being used in such a biased way as to serve non-scientific ends.

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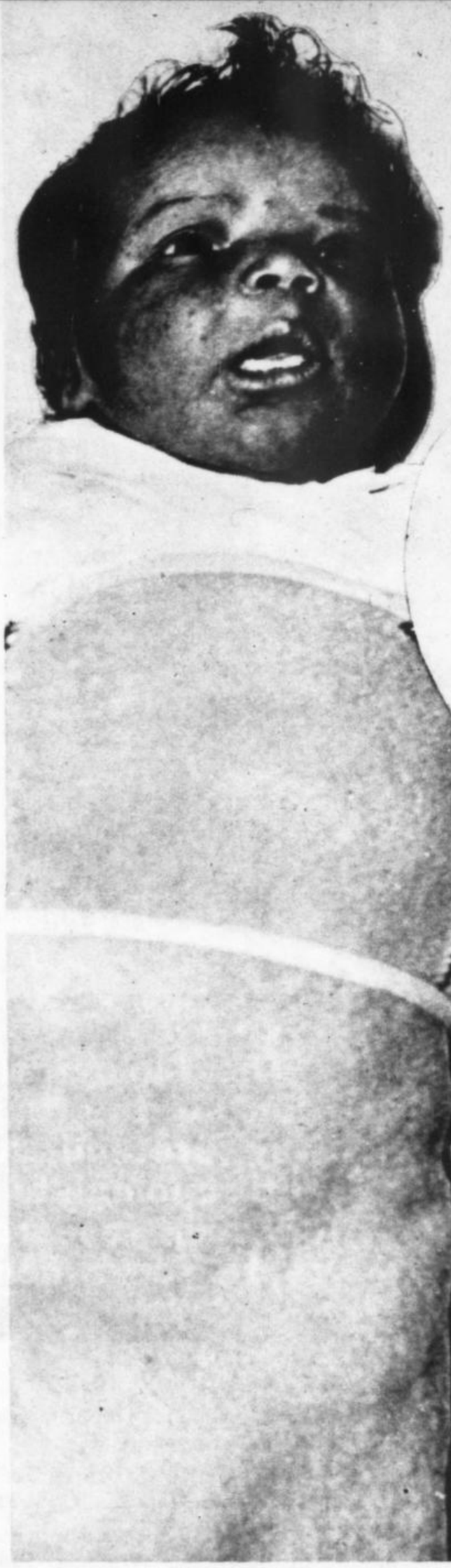
A biologist's view

THE FUTURE OF 'HOMO SAPIENS'

by Jean Hiernaux



IT takes considerable presumption to foretell the future, yet it is a task that the research worker cannot evade, although he may admit that his forecasts are based on incomplete knowledge and on hypotheses which are coloured by his own personality.

Man is the product of the evolution of animate matter; and his future can be foretold only by projecting into the future evolutionary trends which are perceptible today. Throughout the natural history of life on our planet, we may trace a series of forms, rising from the simplest to the most complex—from giant molecules, not yet completely differentiated from inert matter, to mammals.

The main stages in this evolution reveal an increasing degree of freedom from close dependence on the environment. For example, by acquiring the ability to maintain the body temperature irrespective of the temperature of the external environment, which scientists call "horiothermy," the higher forms of animate matter have entered regions in which previously they could not live.

As life became increasingly complex, the structure and role of the brain grew larger. The maximum development of the brain and the maximum freedom from the power of the external environment were to be achieved by man; and, having acquired that freedom, he gained increasing control over the forces of nature, which he harnessed to suit his needs.

Man is unquestionably the spearhead of evolution, but he does not follow its course in the same way as did those forms which lived before him; at least, it may be said that an evolutionary mechanism not previously in operation came into being with man. Before his coming, evolution was genetic in character; it consisted in changing the qualities inherited by the various species—in other words, changing the stock of genes borne by them. It had nothing to do with the will or with consciousness.

With the coming of man and, no doubt, as a necessary condition for his emergence, an entirely different evolutionary mechanism came into being and developed—the transmission from one individual to another and from one generation to the next of knowledge, inventions, and ways of life which are not inherited, and which can be perpetuated only through constant effort.

This is a less stable form of evolution, but it enables man to advance along the path of freedom and to gain control over his environment much more rapidly than he can through genetic evolution. This is probably the reason why, after a period of interaction between the two evolutionary mechanisms (lasting from the emergence of man, some two million years ago, until his appearance in his present form as "Homo sapiens" about 50,000 years ago), evolution towards a higher state now takes place essentially in the sphere of acquired ability, which we may call the cultural sphere.

There is no perceptible difference between the anatomical development of the skull of fossilized Homo sapiens and our skull, but man's control over the forces of nature has grown tremendously, and knowledge and techniques are progressing with ever-increasing speed; cultural evolution has taken the place of genetic evolution.

Unesco - Kitrosser

If this explanation of the lack of change in the brain over tens of thousands of years is correct, we must not expect man in the future to have an enormous head; the brain he has now is large enough for him, and in any case he is already extending its range by means of electronic computers.

It is true that, judging by the bone-structure, "Homo sapiens" usually had coarser features in the stone age than today (as have the modern representatives of that cultural stage, the Australian aborigines). A certain refining of the bony projections has accompanied cultural evolution. Yet it is not to be expected that this trend will continue until the head is markedly different; the ridges of the brow may vanish, but the frontal bone cannot. There is also a tendency for the teeth to become smaller, and even for the third molar to be missing. Here again, there is no reason to think that this situation will ultimately produce a toothless human being. In any case, these processes are extremely slow compared with cultural evolution.

A process still in operation today in the genetic sphere, and there is no sign that it is nearing its end, is the modification of the inherited traits of populations so as to secure, from the genetic point of view, the best possible adaptation to a changing environment. Our adaptation to our environment, too, is increasingly cultural in character (take, for instance, our clothing, heating and air-conditioning), and advances in medicine are helping to lessen the importance of natural selection; but we are constantly creating new environments (such as that of the great metropolises) which give rise to fresh biological problems. It will be a long time, no doubt, before cultural measures make genetic adaptation to local conditions unnecessary, and so put an end to it.

All that has been said so far concerns the spontaneous biological evolution of man. Now, man has acquired knowledge and technical ability which enable him to influence his inherited traits. The branch of science which deals with this process is eugenics. It is based on the theory that, for each inherited characteristic in which men

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IBM

FUTURE OF 'HOMo SAPIENS' *(Cont'd)*

Not superman, perhaps a supermankind

differ from each other (such as the A, B and O blood groups, in which individuals are divided into four groups), there is a determining factor (a gene) which is the best of its kind, and which is found in all parts of the world.

Natural selection will tend to eliminate all alternatives except the best. If a new gene appears, as a result of mutations, either it will be better than the existing genes, and will supersede them, or else it will be weaker, and will be eliminated.

The aim of eugenics is to assist what is good in nature, by discouraging deleterious genes (through preventing individuals possessing them from reproducing) and by encouraging the best gene (for instance by advocating artificial insemination by semen which bears that gene). The tendency is, therefore, for eugenics to produce a human race composed of genetically identical individuals.

In many cases (when it is recessive), the elimination of a deleterious gene, even by total eugenics (the complete prevention of reproduction by those who bear it), requires many generations. Apart from this practical aspect there is a serious argument against the general application of eugenics: recent research has revealed that in very many cases natural selection does not move towards a state of uniformity through the elimination of all genes except one, but rather towards a state of balance between the frequencies of different genes.

Mankind has always exhibited considerable diversity in respect of many hereditary traits, which is a good thing. This is not only because the vitality of each population depends upon such diversity (or polymorphism), but because a gene may be beneficial in certain environmental conditions and harmful in others. We know of genes, for instance, a certain frequency of which is beneficial in malarial regions, but which are by no means desirable in other regions.

Men have settled in all parts of the globe; they live in widely differing natural environments which they are constantly modifying in ways that are not always predictable. This being so, the genetic ideal is to maintain diversity—the opposite of the aim of eugenics. Eugenics is unjustifiable except in so far as it can eradicate very serious hereditary diseases, of which there are few; if an apparently unfavourable trait occurs frequently in a population, it is very likely to be desirable in some respect at present unknown to us. If a gene is really undesirable in all respects, natural selection will keep its frequency very low.

THIS criticism applies to positive eugenics, the object of which is to increase the number of "good" genes, as well as to negative eugenics, which aims to eradicate the "bad" ones; underlying both is the same ideal—uniformity. We have no reason to hope that a Superman will be produced in the eugenists' test-tubes; any highly gifted beings they might produce would not constitute a biologically viable human race.

We should do better to devote our energies to providing populations and individuals with living conditions in which their inherited potentialities can best be realized, rather than manipulating genes; and that is not eugenics, but what has been called euthenics.

There are hundreds of millions of human beings who, through hunger or disease, are prevented from realizing their physical potentialities as they would have done under better conditions. Differences between the intellectual achievements of the various human populations appear to be due entirely to the fact that their food, health and educational conditions are different. Euthenics opens up much broader and safer avenues for the betterment of mankind than does eugenics.

The processes in operation today—especially selection, which has the effect of differentiating populations by genetic adaptation to their living conditions, and cross-breeding, which produces greater homogeneity, while at the same

FROM STONE TOOL TO COMPUTER. It took man hundreds of thousands of years to evolve his stone-cutting techniques (left), yet only a few thousand years to advance from the stone age to the atomic age. Between the anatomical development of the skull of "Homo sapiens" of 50,000 years ago and our skulls today there is no perceptible difference. Cultural evolution has taken the place of genetic evolution. Man is now extending the range of his brain by means of electronic computers. Above, perforated computer programming cards.

time putting a premium on polymorphism—can, of themselves, produce the state which appears to meet the biological needs of our race, that is, unity in diversity. Individual adaptations are never very marked, and they are much less characteristic of man than his genetic capacity for general adaptation to varied conditions.

It would seem, therefore, that man is not destined to undergo any striking biological transformation through either spontaneous or induced evolution. He is, however, undergoing an ever more rapid cultural evolution; it took him hundreds of thousands of years—the palaeolithic era—to bring his stone-cutting technique to a moderately high standard, but only a few thousand years to advance from the stone age to the atomic age. It is in the sphere of cultural achievements that man can undergo a profound evolution which, though different in kind from genetic evolution, as we have seen, is moving in the same direction, and is the specifically human form of evolution.

This kind of evolution has become self-conscious; it is dependent upon man's desire to advance and on the effectiveness of the measures he adopts to do so. It requires of men a sustained effort to improve, both as individuals and as a society. It does not appear to be necessarily inevitable; our present state of knowledge, indeed, provides mankind with the means of total self-destruction.

Are we then justified in predicting that the cultural evolution will continue to progress? We may be somewhat prejudiced on the side of optimism, but not without reason. Under pressure of the forces of selection, the genetic evolution has gone on, passing through numerous phases, for over a thousand million years; and in every case the more complex, more highly developed form has supplanted the lower form when they have been present together and in a competitive situation.

True mammals, for example, have supplanted marsupials in all parts of the world except Australia, where they have been but recently introduced. We may reasonably expect that by a similar mechanism a more highly-developed cultural form, when brought into contact with a less highly-developed one, will supersede it. Examples of this may be found in our past. One case is the extremely rapid expansion of the neolithic revolution, i.e. the invention of agriculture and cattle-breeding.

Biological evolutionary forces (using the word "biological" in the narrow sense) altered inherited traits; but cultural evolutionary forces preserve whatever is felt to be an incentive towards mankind's advancement. These include the desire for knowledge, which leads to scientific progress, and the desire of individuals and human societies to draw closer together, which impels us to love our neighbour, to feel ourselves involved in whatever affects mankind as a whole, and to strive for greater social justice.

It is true that, as in the case of genetic evolution, these forces produce nothing more than trends, and do not exclude the possibility of periods of retrogression and partial failure; but, if we look at history from a sufficiently high vantage-point, it seems reasonable to think that they will succeed.

Where can this sort of evolution take mankind? In some fields, it is moving very quickly; knowledge is advancing with great rapidity; and, amidst storm and stress, men are seeking for new forms of social morality consonant with their increasing awareness of their unity and of the interdependence of the elements of which the race is composed.

When we observe the rate of our progress we may wonder whether animate matter inhabiting the earth is not about to undergo, in man, one of those changes of state which dialectical thinking entitles us to visualize. It would seem that, in biology as in physics, slight but accumulated quantitative changes may somewhat suddenly lead to qualitatively new states (consider, for example, the changes undergone by a block of ice which is heated gradually).

Thus, the increasing complexity of inert matter gave rise to life, which had new properties, but within which chemical particles retain their ordinary characteristics; it is the interaction and organization of these particles which is characteristic of life. The increasing complexity of animate matter led to the emergence of man, a qualitatively new creature in certain ways, as in his capacity for abstract thinking, but whose cells possess the same general biological properties as the amoeba.

If we try to apply this principle still further, we shall see that the next critical threshold will bring us to a state in which men differing but little from present-day men will, by virtue of their desire to draw closer together and the intensity and nature of their interaction, constitute a qualitatively new stage of animate matter.

So, if we see the matter aright, we are advancing towards a Supermankind, and not towards Supermen. We may be unable at our stage in evolution to gain a complete picture of this future state, but already we know the paths that lead to it. It may sometimes be difficult to abandon an untroubled immobility but if we are to accept our responsibilities as human beings and respond to the forces of progress, we must move forward along these paths—the ways that lead to knowledge and amity.

PROF. JEAN HIERNAUX was scientific director of the meeting of biologists organized by Unesco in Moscow in August 1965 (see page 8). An anthropologist, he is a director of research at the National Centre of Scientific Research in Paris and also collaborates with the Institute of Sociology at the Free University of Brussels, Belgium. Professor Hiernaux has written a number of popular science works, including "Origine de l'Homme" (The Origin of Man); "Nature et Origine des Races Humaines" (The Nature and Origin of the Human Races) and "L'Avenir Biologique de l'Homme" (The Biological Future of Man). These have been published by the Cercle d'Education Populaire, 20 rue de Verviers, Brussels.

A century ago a Moravian monk discovered one of nature's great secrets–the mechanism of heredity. All his life he sought to have his ideas accepted but he died disheartened, unknown and unrecognized. Today, the world salutes an extraordinary genius who was the father of the science of genetics.

EXACTLY one century ago this year, the Austrian monk Johann Mendel—Brother Gregor in the Augustinian Order—submitted to the Natural History Society of Brunn a paper entitled "Experiments in Plant Hybridization."

Mendel's paper, which he communicated in two parts, on February 8 and March 8, 1865, is one of the most astonishing masterpieces ever conceived by the mind of man. In some fifty pages, in which the author consigned the fruits of eight years of patient research, a new science and an entirely fresh approach to biology was revealed. Mendel was not, as is sometimes said, a precursor of genetics; he was its veritable founder. All the essentials of the modern science of heredity, all those aspects of it which continue to evolve and develop along the most divergent paths, were already contained explicitly or implicitly in that memorable paper. Not a single line of it has become dated, for it reports only faultless experiments and presents hypotheses the future was to confirm.

Mendel's life was simple and obscure. Born in Heizendorf, Moravia on July 22, 1822—the year of Louis Pasteur's birth—Johann Mendel came of a peasant family. In his eleventh year he entered a school in Leipnik, then, after attending a school in Troppau and reading at the University of Vienna, he decided on a monastic life. In 1843, he was admitted as a novice at the Augustinian Monastery of Brünn (today Brno in Czechoslovakia), where he took orders in 1847.

Although he held no university degrees Mendel was to teach natural history and elementary physics at Brünn. Twice he sat for the examination which would have qualified him for a higher post, but without success.

IN 1856, he began experimenting in the cloister garden with hybridization of the common pea. His aim was at first a modest one: to bring about artificial fertilization of ornamental plants with a view to obtaining new colours. But as he proceeded with his crossings and extended and varied his experimental material, his ambition grew; he realized that he had raised the whole problem of heredity and that he would have to elucidate it if he were to understand his findings.

These findings impressed him by their regularity, their clarity and their constancy, all expressed with mathematical precision. Certain hypotheses became apparent and these called for verification through further experiments. Finally, after bringing about thousands of artifical fertilizations and examining tens of thousands of seeds, Mendel believed that he was in a position to formulate general conclusions, equivalent to laws, and these he set forth in his paper of 1865. Alas, the very magnitude and remarkable originality of his work was to render it incomprehensible to his contemporaries. Despite all his efforts to bring it to the attention of the specialists, he received no encouragement from them and finally abandoned his research. Elected abbot in 1868, Mendel died in 1884.

Thirty-five years elapsed before Mendel's work was rescued from oblivion and it might have remained forever buried had it not been briefly mentioned in a work on plant hybridization by the German botanist Wilhelm Focke.

Early in 1900 a Dutch botanist, Hugo de Vries, published two papers on the hybridization of various plants and in one, which appeared in Germany, he indicated that his discoveries had in all their essentials been put forward long before by a monk named Mendel, but in a paper so rarely mentioned that De Vries did not learn of its existence until his own work was to all intents completed.

In April of the same year, it was a German botanist, Carl Correns, who reached findings in every way similar to Mendel's. He, too, thought he had made an original discovery.

Finally, in June 1900, an Austrian botanist, Erich Tschermak, corroborated Mendel's observations, which came to his knowledge only after he had completed his own.

THREE scientists remaking, almost at the same time and independently of each other, the discovery an obscure monk had already made, unknown to the world; an astounding paper buried in the annals of a modest local scientific society; an amateur botanist of genius who in his cloister garden had outdistanced the prominent scientists of his day—here were facts to stir the imagination and the emotions.

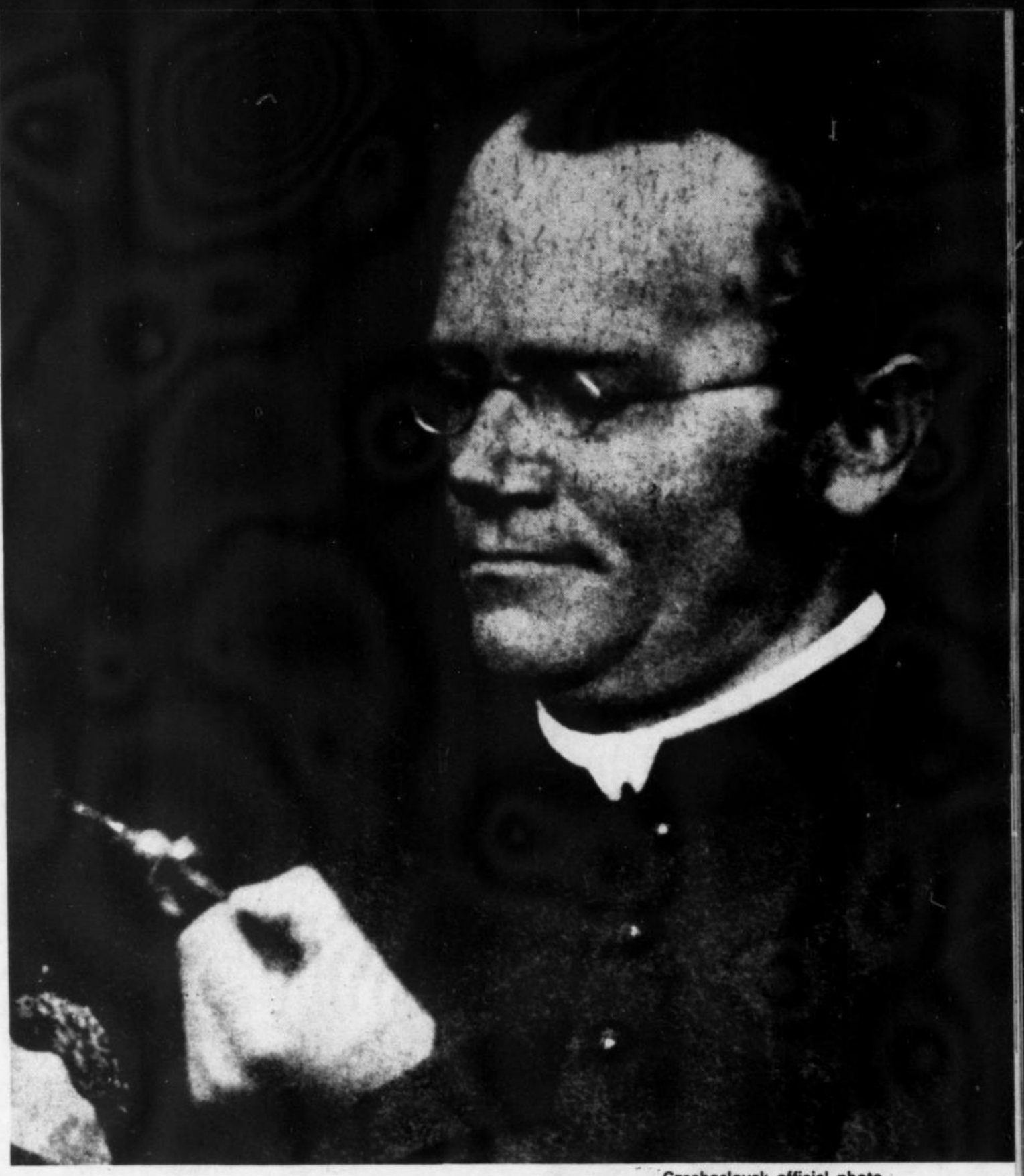
Mendelism, thus rediscovered, was straightway to meet with an enthusiastic response and arouse exceptional interest all over the world. Confirmation was forthcoming from all sides: the laws of hybridization—immediately dubbed Mendel's laws—were to be extended to the animal kingdom by Bateson in England, by Lucien Cuénot in France.

Why was Mendel's revelation so important?

Mendel was certainly not the first to investigate the phenomena of heredity. Before him many observations had been made concerning the transmission of organic characters—in plants, in animals, in the human species. Even the experimental study of heredity had been undertaken by scientists such as Köhlreuter, Wichura, Lecoq, Sageret, Goss and Seton, Naudin and others. But none of these studies had produced anything clear or decisive. The results of cross-fertilization or cross-breeding were always unpredictable to the investigator. It was as if the phenomenon of heredity was essentially freakish, or at least too complex to lend itself to exhaustive analysis.

JOHANN GREGOR MENDEL

by Jean Rostand
of the Académie Française



Czechoslovak official photo

Not so with Mendel. For his cross-fertilizations he had had the foresight to choose very stable varieties of peas with constant, clear-cut differences in their characteristics—differences in the form (wrinkled or round) or the colour (green or yellow) of the ripe seed, in the form of the ripe pod, in the colour of the ripe pod, in the colour of the unripe pod, in the length of the stems, etc. Then after long experimentation and examination of the findings, he was able to predict precisely what would happen when two peas differing in one or several unit-characters were crossed.

To take a simple example, he was able to predict that cross-fertilization of two peas differing in unit-characters **A** and **a** would produce peas having only unit-character **A;** and that if the hybrids of that first generation were then intercrossed, unit-character **a** would reappear in the following generation, which would have an average ratio of three plants with unit-character **A** to one plant with unit-character **a.**

What is more, Mendel's work not only enabled the experimenter to predict—in itself a valuable advance. The ratios he discovered were of profound significance, revealing as they did the interplay of hidden and previously unthought of mechanisms. For in order to explain the results of cross-fertilization or cross-breeding, it had to be assumed that the unit-characters of the parents separated—or segregated—from each other in the reproduction cells of the hybrids and, furthermore, that they segregated independently. This led to the idea of discontinuity of the hereditary basis, which then appeared as made up of separable elements, more or less similar to atoms in chemistry.

Finally, the behaviour of the Mendelian units—today known as "genes"—paralleled in striking fashion that of the particles, or chromosomes, of which a definite number, constant for each species, is found in the cell nucleus of all living things.

Mendelism led directly to the chromosome theory of heredity intuitively elaborated by the German biologist August Weisman at the end of the last century.

Henceforth, Mendelism and the chromosome theory were to evolve in concert, lending each other enlightenment and support, while all research continually confirmed the experimental findings obtained from cross-fertilization or cross-breeding.

It was thanks to such collaboration that the school of Thomas Hunt Morgan, a U.S. winner of the 1933 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine was able to carry out on the fruit-fly (Drosophila melanogaster) its great work—one of the finest achievements of modern biology—which made it possible not merely to locate a great number of genes in one or the other of this insect's four chromosomes, but also to fix their exact position within each chromosome.

Now, the cytological stage has in turn been superseded. We have reached the chemical stage and the gene is at present regarded as a large molecule of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA).

Where does Mendelism stand today?

The universality of Mendel's laws must first be noted. As the biologist, Robert Matthey puts it, "The Mendelian universe can no longer be reduced, as might have been supposed in 1900, to a garden with leguminous plants producing green or yellow, wrinkled or round seeds; it em-

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JOHANN MENDEL *(Cont'd)*

braces within its laws the whole world of living things from virus to man."

It should also be made clear that direct evidence of the segregation of the genes during the formation of the reproduction cells has been forthcoming.

Mendelism, besides underlying most of the disciplines concerned with organic individuality, mutation and evolution, the fine structure of chromosomes and the chemistry of genes, in so far as genetics stemmed from it, has direct applications in various fields, notably in human genetics.

It is the basis on which doctors can warn against the unfortunate consequences of certain marriages and point out the disadvantages of consanguinity.

If ever a negative eugenics is introduced to eliminate or reduce certain hereditary diseases or defects in our species, the data obtained by Mendelism will have to be taken into account.

One of its best known applications is the genetics of blood. Since we know how the Rhesus factor is transmitted we have been able to develop suitable treatment to avert the risks to a baby when the Rhesus factors in the blood of the parents differ and are thus incompatible.

Need it be added that a knowledge of the genetics of blood is of value in some cases of disputed paternity? Although it can never be proved by blood alone that a man is the father of a particular child, it is quite often possible to prove that the child could not be his.

Knowledge of Mendel's laws has rendered and still renders great services to agriculture and stock-breeding. By their judicious application racial characters can be manipulated at will and several desirable characters from different lines combined in a single race. In this way, the sturdiness and resistance of cereals have been increased and the production of meat, wool, milk, eggs, etc.,

Two remarkable animal oddities spotted by an aerial cameraman in the Rukwa Valley, a huge animal reserve in southwestern Tanzania. Left, a spotted zebra runs with the normally marked members of the herd. Right, an albino giraffe. There have been reports of albino giraffe from other parts of Africa, but spotted zebra are far more rare. But, since these pictures were taken, a game officer has reported that the Rukwa Valley zebra has foaled and that the zebra colt too is spotted.

Photos © Birnback Publishing Service, New York

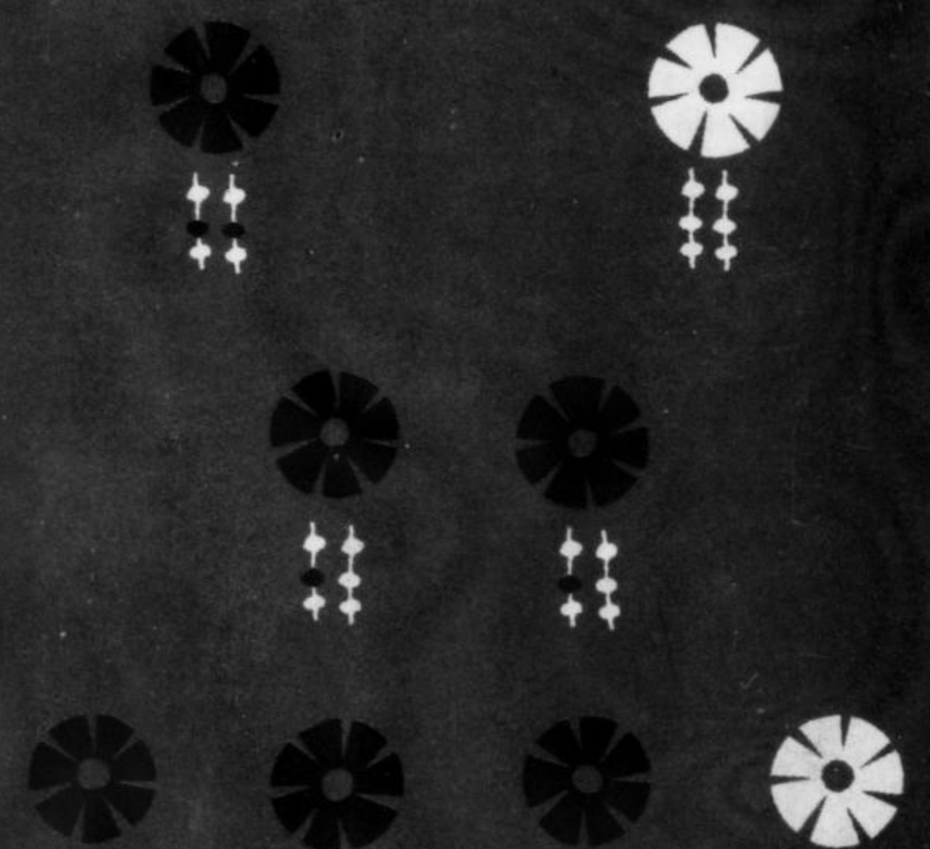
What the garden peas revealed to Brother Gregor

PURE-BRED FLOWERS.
One is red, the other white.
One has two red colour genes, the other has two white.

OFFSPRING-HYBRID.
The offspring of these flowers. Each has received one gene from each parent. Flowers are red because red is dominant over white. White is recessive, remains intact but unseen in this generation.

OFFSPRING OF HYBRIDS.
Each has received one gene from each parent. Result: two pure-breds, one white, one red; two hybrids showing red.

Unesco drawing



has been improved both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In discussing Mendelism, it is impossible to overlook the offensive to which it was subjected around 1948—along with Morganism—by Soviet biologists of the Michurin school grouped around the botanist Lysenko.

In the name of a certain dogmatism they anathematized Mendel's views, which they denounced as reactionary, bourgeois, idealistic, conventional, etc. Ironic references were made to the garden pea man and the monkish theory. . . The same ones that execrated Mendel maintained that wheat can produce rye and that life appears spontaneously in the yolk of an egg!

This was a painful period for science which we should remember if only not to forget the level of absurdity highly esteemed and educated men can sink to when they yield to doctrinal fanaticism.

Mendelism has been established once and for all in biological thinking and nothing will oust it, for it expresses a considerable part of the real basis of life itself. It colours willy-nilly our manner of observing experimenting, reasoning and thinking. The fame of Mendel, as of Darwin and Pasteur, is not at the mercy of changing opinion. As long as there are biologists on the earth, they will honour the memory of the obscure monk in Brünn who, richer in genius than in knowledge, was the first to shed light on one of the greatest phenomena of nature.

JEAN ROSTAND, the French biologist and scientific writer, is known throughout the world for his research on heredity and genetics, based on three decades of experimentation with frogs and toads. He has written over 40 books on his fields of research as well as on scientific thought, philosophy and pure science. A member of the French Academy, he was awarded the Kalinga Unesco Prize for the popularization of science in 1959.

A stark report by the United Nations

"There is a clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious and ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels." These were the words used by U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, last year, to warn the world against the consequences of racial discrimination. Racial discrimination, imposed as an official policy in the Republic of South Africa, has created a dramatic and unparalleled situation that in recent years has increasingly stirred the conscience of the world. In November 1962 the United Nations General Assembly set up a special committee to investigate the policy of "apartheid" and its consequences in South Africa. The results of these investigations have been published in a series of comprehensive reports, the most recent of which appeared in December 1964. These show the increasing gravity of the situation. The facts they relate, which The Unesco Courier presents here in abridged form, speak for themselves. They depict in graphic terms a tragedy in which millions of people in South Africa are being engulfed for one reason alone: because of the colour of their skin.

REPORTING FOR WORK at a factory in Johannesburg. In South Africa the vast majority of unskilled jobs are done by Africans. An integral aim of "apartheid" is to reserve the skilled and higher-paid professions for the Whites. The U.N. Special Committee reports that the ratio between the average wage earnings of Whites and Africans in mining is fifteen to one.

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APARTHEID
in South Africa

THE Republic of South Africa has... uprooted thousands of families from their homes in the urban areas and expelled many thousands of Africans to distant reserves. It has arrested and convicted hundreds of thousands of persons under pass laws and other racially discriminatory measures. It has excluded non-Whites (1) from new categories of employment. It has instituted a reign of terror against opponents of "apartheid": the leaders of the non-Whites have been jailed or restricted, and thousands of persons have been thrown in jail for opposition to "apartheid", with no certainty of ever being set free. Harsh penalties have been imposed on members of the major non-White organizations...

Meanwhile the government has spent much effort in propaganda at home and abroad, describing its policy as "separate development" of the races in order to deceive world public opinion. The policy itself remains basically unchanged.

Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd stated in the House of Assembly on January 25, 1963:

"Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa White... 'Keeping it White' can only mean one thing, namely, White domination, not 'leadership', not 'guidance', but 'control', 'supremacy'. If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the White man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining White domination... we say that it can be achieved by separate development."

Government leaders admit that the non-Whites cannot be treated forever as inferior, nor would they accept concessions which do not provide for equal rights. They claim that the move towards self-determination of both the major groups is the only solution which will preserve the nationhood and the vital interests of the Whites. Hence the development of "Bantustans" in the African reserves is given great emphasis in government policy.

Under the government's plans, the African reserves will be progressively granted the rights of self-government. The Africans will exercise their political rights only in the reserves and the Whites only in the rest of the country, described as the "White" area.

This ingenious formula represents, in fact, a serious attack on the rights of a great majority of inhabitants. It means that Africans will lose all existing rights, and all hope of equal rights, in 87 per cent of the territory of the country in return for self-government in the reserves which constitute only 13 per cent of the territory.

The idea that the African reserves constitute the homelands of the Africans is based on a distortion of history and a negation of present-day realities. Only 38 per cent of Africans today reside in the reserves, which cannot provide an adequate livelihood for even their existing inhabitants. The Africans constitute a majority in both the "White" urban areas and "White" rural areas. A large percentage of the Africans were born or have lived for long periods outside the reserves and have little contact with the reserves...

ONE of the first acts of the Union of South Africa, formed in 1909 by agreement between the two major White elements in the country, was the promulgation of the Native Land Act of 1913, which limited African land rights to 10 1/2 million "morgen" (about 21 million acres). The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 provided for the acquisition of an additional 15 million acres for African occupation, and for the liquidation of the "Black spots" (African-owned land) in the rest of the country. When this additional land is acquired, the African reserves will cover less than one seventh of the country.

The traditional geographical separation is mainly a restriction on landownership imposed by the government in which the Africans had no voice and which the African leaders had protested strongly. The reserves contain only 38 per cent of the African population of the country, and even a government commission found that they can decently support only half of their present population. The majority of Africans live outside the reserves. The Africans outnumber the Whites in the urban areas. The number of Africans is about four times the number of Whites in the "White" rural area.

The National Party came to power in 1948 after a campaign in which it stressed the alleged dangers of increasing African population outside the reserves, and the trend towards economic integration. It embarked on a series of laws to outlaw all social intercourse between the racial groups, to restrict the rights of Africans outside the reserves, and to reinforce tribalism.

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(1) According to information supplied to the International Labour Organization by the Government of South Africa in 1962, the population of the Republic of South Africa comprises four very distinct population groups of whom eleven million are Bantu, three million of European origin, 500,000 of Asian origin and one and a half million of mixed origin.

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13 million persons in a web of restrictions

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 abolished the Native Representative Council and authorized the Governor-General to establish Bantu "tribal authorities". The establishment of these authorities was opposed by the Africans and the government had to impose them by threats, deportation and arrest of African leaders and severe police action. African resistance had been ruthlessly quelled in Tembuland and East Pondoland between 1957 and 1960.

Under the so-called Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, the small number of qualified Africans were deprived of their right to elect a few White members to Parliament. The Act provided for the gradual consolidation of the 264 scattered African reserves into eight "national units" and the establishment of territorial authorities in these units. Territorial authorities were established in the Transkei (1) and in five other areas by the end of 1962.

A number of comments may be made on these moves towards "the creation of Bantustans."

First, these moves are engineered by a government in which the African people have no voice and are aimed at the separation of the races and the denial of rights to the African population in six-sevenths of the country.

Second, the "Bantustans" were not demanded by Africans but are being imposed against their wishes. The leaders of the African people are imprisoned or silenced, entry into reserves by Whites is controlled by permit, and, under Proclamation 400, the Transkeians are denied freedom of assembly and speech.

Third, the self-government granted to Transkei at present is limited in many ways. Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembu, one of the biggest tribes in the Transkei, declared recently:

"The freedom you are getting in the Transkei is a fowl-run. A cattlekraal would be better."

Fourth, the scheme aims at strengthening tribalism and utilizing the tribal system against African aspirations for equality.

Fifth, the "national units", made up of scattered reserves, are not economically viable. They do not provide a minimum standard of living even for the existing population of less than four million. They have few known mineral resources and are almost devoid of industries. Their economies depend largely on the export of labour to the "White" areas at the rate of over half a million migrant labourers a year.

The creation of "Bantustans" may, therefore, be regarded as designed to reinforce White supremacy in the country by strengthening the position of tribal chiefs, dividing the African people through the offer of opportunities for a limited number of Africans, and deceiving public opinion.

The policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, as indicated earlier, is to keep most, if not all, of South Africa under White control by treating Africans outside the reserves as transient aliens allowed to remain only to minister to the needs of the Whites. The movement of Africans to the "White areas" is strictly regulated and

(1) The Transkei, situated on the coast in the northeastern part of the Cape Province, has an area of 16,350 square miles and a population of over two million.

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On a railway platform (left) signboards warn the traveller that he must only use the service allocated to his racial group. Parcels offices, refreshment rooms, telegraph and telephone services are all segregated for Whites and non-Whites. Right, as a train pulls out of the station Africans are still trying to force their way into the already packed carriages reserved for non-Whites.

African family life is restricted. Any African who is unemployed or becomes a "problem" is expelled. Some of the disabilities imposed on the Africans and other non-Whites are briefly reviewed below.

The Group Areas Act of 1950, which provides for the forcible separation of racial groups, continues to be implemented actively though the General Assembly has repeatedly called upon South Africa to refrain from enforcing its provisions. "Black spots", where Africans hold freehold rights, are being rapidly cleared.

Between November 6, 1962 and the end of August 1963, "group areas" were proclaimed in about 40 cities and towns. Tens of thousands of families, mostly of non-Whites, are forced to move from areas in some of which they have resided for generations...

This uprooting of settled communities has created serious hardship for the families which are obliged to move to distant new locations. It has caused great insecurity and bitterness.

In line with its policy of territorial separation, the government is proceeding with plans to replace and remove the African population of 250,000 in the Western Cape and reserve the area for the Whites and the Coloureds. Thousands of Africans are being expelled to the reserves.

The scheme has been opposed by many industrialists, farmers and political leaders. The United Party leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, speaking in the House of Assembly on May 28, 1963, said that the National Party seemed to see the Western Cape as "the stronghold of White civilization" where the Whites in a kind of siege could make a last stand while there was trouble elsewhere.

Under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1963, popularly known as the Servants Act, the residence of African domestic workers on the premises of their White employers is severely restricted.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development sent a directive to all local authorities on February 14, 1963 curbing any further expansion of African private enterprise in urban areas.

The pass system has often been described as perhaps the most serious grievance of the African people as it restricts their freedom of movement at every turn. Over the years, the African people have staged numerous protests against the passes, regarded by them as "badges of slavery", including the demonstration at Sharpeville and other areas in 1960.

Under the Natives (abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, the National Party Government replaced the passes of the Africans by "reference books." The rest of the population has been issued identity cards. While non-Africans rarely suffer penalties for non-possession of identity cards, the Africans are subjected to severe punishments for even accidental misplacing of reference books.

The reference books contain permits to remain in an urban area, tax receipts and other particulars. Africans found outside the reserves without permits are taken to courts, for fine or imprisonment, and expelled. Juvenile offenders may be sentenced to whipping.

The regulations were strengthened during 1962, particularly by the requirement that all African women must carry "reference books" from February 1, 1963. The

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A multitude of arrests and convictions

extension of the pass system to African women has always been strongly resented by Africans, as the subjection of women to the procedures may lead to serious consequences for their families. Mothers of small children may be suddenly arrested. Husbands and wives may be arrested separately and expelled to their respective "homelands" which may be hundreds of miles apart. A mother may be "endorsed out" even though her child was born in the city: if she takes the child with her, the child loses the right to return to the city without special permission.

One of the most striking features of the South African racial policies is the multitude of arrests and convictions under the numerous laws and regulations which restrict the freedom of movement and residence of the African people. The number of convictions in 1962 was 384,497, or over a thousand a day. The total convictions in the previous decade was 3,886,568.

The urban Africans are in constant dread of being expelled from towns and sent to the reserves. Such orders seem to have greatly increased as the Government proceeds even more vigorously with its "apartheid" policies. In 1962, 4,254 African women and 677 African children were "endorsed out" of African townships of Johannesburg.

The Johannesburg Star, on June 10, 1963, reported two case histories, narrated by an African social worker, which disclose the hardships encountered by the urban Africans.

"The parents of two young boys were both working in the city to make ends meet, so they sent their children to their grandparents in the country to be properly brought up and educated.

"When the children had finished school and were old enough to work, they found there was no work for them in the country, so they were brought to Johannesburg. But in Johannesburg they were 'endorsed out' because they had not lived in the city. And when they returned to the country they were 'endorsed out' of that district, where they had spent their childhood because they were born in Johannesburg.

"Legally they are not living anywhere—they are displaced persons. So what do they do? They live illegally with their parents in Johannesburg, lying low by day and roaming the streets at night—workless, shiftless, mal-nourished and hopeless.

"Another boy lived in the country with his parents until they both died and he came to Johannesburg to live with an uncle. He was caught in a pass raid and 'endorsed out' of Johannesburg because he was not born there and had not lived there for 10 years.

"He was told to go back to the place in the country, but he had lost touch with the people there since the death of his parents and no longer knew anybody who could give him a home. He is only 17. So he continues to live illegally with the uncle, hoping not to be 'picked up', and his uncle supports him.

"What does the future hold for him? Will his uncle have to support him in idleness for the rest of his life?

"Is it any wonder that many of them became tsotsis [juvenile delinquents]—even criminals?"

White & non-White —apartheid definitions

The South African Population Registration Act of 1950 classifies the population into racial categories which it defines as follows:

WHITE: "White person means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a White person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person."

This definition was revised in the Population Registration Amendment Act of 1960 to free citizens of certain countries with which South Africa has diplomatic or consular relations from the restrictive measures applied to non-White people. According to the new definition, a White person can also mean a person who is generally accepted as a White person even though obviously not in appearance a White person.

NATIVE: "Native means a person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa."

COLOURED PERSON: "Coloured person means a person who is not a White person or a Native."

In Proclamation No 46 of 1959, Coloured people are sub-divided as follows: "Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, 'other Asiatic' and 'other Coloured'." The last group comprises persons not included in any of the other groups, and who are neither White nor Native.

(From "L'Afrique du Sud et la Primauté du Droit — "South Africa and the Primacy of Law—a report published by the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, in 1961.)

AN integral part of the "apartheid" policy is the preservation of the skilled and higher-paid professions to the Whites and the limitation of African workers to unskilled and low-paid occupations. Through the implementation of this policy, the Republic has provided for its White inhabitants one of the highest standards of living in the world, while the non-Whites receive only a fraction of White earnings.

The National Party Government has greatly extended the "colour-bar" in employment. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 provides for the reservation of occupations for particular racial groups. As the Whites monopolize political power, their interests are paramount when there is competition among racial groups. The non-Whites can never be certain of being able to utilize the skills they have acquired or seek to acquire.

Five work reservation determinations were made in the past year, reserving the driving of motor-trucks, skilled jobs in the building industry and bartending in various areas to Whites only. Other reservations are under investigation. These decisions have created great bitterness.

Such blatant discriminatory measures as job reservation are facilitated by the fact that the Africans have no political rights and, indeed, are denied even trade union rights. African trade unions cannot be registered and cannot engage in collective bargaining. African workers are not permitted to strike: penalties reach a fine of 1,000 Rand, three years' imprisonment, or both.

In the public services, the Whites not only monopolize the higher levels but form a majority, though they account for less than a fourth of the population.

Registration of the population by race continues to evoke serious resentment, especially in view of recent reports that hundreds of Coloured families had been reclassified

For their efforts to obtain equality of rights in South Africa, many Africans have been arrested and condemmed to long terms of imprisonment. One of them is Nelson Mandela, an African leader, shown here (centre). He was one of a group of 91 Africans who were tried in 1962. He was again tried on new charges in 1963 and on June 12, 1964, was sentenced to life imprisonnent.

Photos © Holmes-Lebel, Paris - Ian Berry

as Whites. In many cases, one part of the family is classified as White and another as Coloured.

Hundreds of persons are annually convicted under the Immorality Act, which prohibits mixed marriages and carnal intercourse between members of different races.

Though mixed sports are not prohibited by law, Government leaders have pressed sports associations to segregate members by race. Segregated sports facilities have been established under the Group Areas Act and local bodies have prevented mixed sports. Passports and other facilities have been denied to mixed teams and legislative measures have been threatened unless the associations comply with Government policy. Such measures have led to proposals in international sports organizations to exclude South African teams.

One of the most significant aspects of the policy of "apartheid" is the determined effort to bring education under government control, segregate the educational system on the basis of race and tribe, and train the non-Whites for the inferior position assigned to them by government policies.

A major step in this direction was taken in 1953 with the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act transferring responsibility for African education (except higher education) from the provincial governments to the Central Government, and granting wide powers to the Minister over both government and private schools.

Religious missions were obliged to transfer control over their schools to the government or lose state subsidies if they chose to remain as private schools. Only a small number could survive without subsidies.

A separate account was established for grants-in-aid to non-government schools. The government's contribution was pegged at 13 million Rand [A Rand is the equivalent of 10/- sterling or $1.40], with the result that the Africans were obliged to pay for educational expansion through increased taxes and contributions by communities.

The government then proceeded to extend "apartheid" into higher education by dividing the higher institutions on a racial and tribal basis, and locating African colleges outside urban areas.

In 1959, legislation was adopted to take over control of the Fort Hare University College and to establish separate university colleges for non-White persons. No White person may attend any of the colleges for non-Whites, and after a transition period (during which students already enrolled in one of the "open" universities were to be allowed to finish their courses subject to the annual approval of the Minister), non-Whites are restricted to their colleges.

The Council and the Senate of each non-White university college is composed of White members only. Non-Whites serve on the Advisory Council and the Advisory Senate.

THE Government claims that the transfer of African education to its control has resulted in great expansion of educational opportunities. The number of pupils, for instance, increased from 938,000 in 1953-54 to 1.6 million in 1961. The figures on such expansion, however, deserve some qualifications and comments.

First, as the government's share in financing African education is pegged at 13 million Rand, increases in expenditure must be provided by direct taxes on Africans. The result has been a decrease in per capita expenditure on education.

Second, of the 6,927 schools for Africans, only 169 are government schools; the rest are state-aided schools.

Third, 97 per cent of the children attending school are in the primary grades and of these only about one quarter are in higher primary grades (the second four years of primary school). Only 911 sat for the matriculation examination in 1962.

Fourth, many African leaders and educationists oppose "Bantu education" on the ground that it seeks to promote tribalism and restrict learning by emphasizing mother-tongue instruction and greatly reducing instruction in English and Afrikaans. Primary schools have been organized on an ethnic basis, with each providing education in one of the seven recognized African languages. English and Afrikaans are taught as subjects, and each is allotted less than two hours a week. A petitioner before the Special Committee stated:

> "This means that the standard of English and Afrikaans remains very low making it even more difficult for the African to fit into an economy run by Whites who do not speak tribal languages, and even to communicate with Africans of other tribes."

Fifth, the increase in university enrolment of Africans is misleading, as it is mainly in extension or correspondence courses in the University College of South Africa and in non-degree courses at tribal colleges.

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All labour legislation in South Africa is based on separation in employment according to race. In 1957 this racial discrimination was extended to the nursing profession by the Nursing Act. Left, at a meeting in Johannesburg a White nurse joins non-White colleagues in protesting agains the "apartheid" regulations. Right, this young non-White nurse would not be allowed, according to law, to serve on the council that deals with the registration, training and discipline of nurses. And whatever her qualifications, she would never be put in charge of White nurses.

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APARTHEID *(Cont'd)*

One Bantu child in three dies in infancy

The iniquities suffered by the non-Whites under individual laws or aspects of policy provide but a partial picture of the varied effects of the "apartheid" policy in terms of poverty, malnutrition, disease, breakdown of family life, humiliation and racial tension.

Because of racial discrimination, the White population of the Republic of South Africa has been able to enjoy one of the highest standards of living, while the non-Whites are denied an equitable share of the national income. A few facts from a recent report to the Economic Commission for Africa are illustrative:

- The ratio between the average wage earnings of Whites and Africans in the mining industry is approximately 15:1; in secondary industry it is 5:1.
- In 1960, the Whites who constituted 19.3 per cent of the population accounted for 67 per cent of the national income; the Africans who constituted 68.4 per cent of the population received 26.5 per cent; and the Coloureds and Asians, who constituted 12.4 per cent of the population, received 6.5 per cent.
- In 1959, the Whites had a per capita income of £425 a year; Africans £39; and Asians and Coloureds £54.

Poverty, malnutrition and disease are so widespread among the non-Whites in South Africa, despite the vast economic resources of the country, that the situation has caused national concern and led recently to debates in the Parliament and the press.

A number of recent surveys show that the average income of African families is far below the minimum monthly expenditure required for decent living.

Surveys in Durban showed that 60 per cent of African workers had no breakfast at all and that a large number of African school-children had nothing whatever to eat until supper-time. In a hospital survey in the Cape, 54 per cent of the non-White children were found to be severely underweight and 17 per cent to be at a level indicative of gross starvation. Dr. Hansen, associate professor of Child Health at Cape Town University, stated in October 1962:

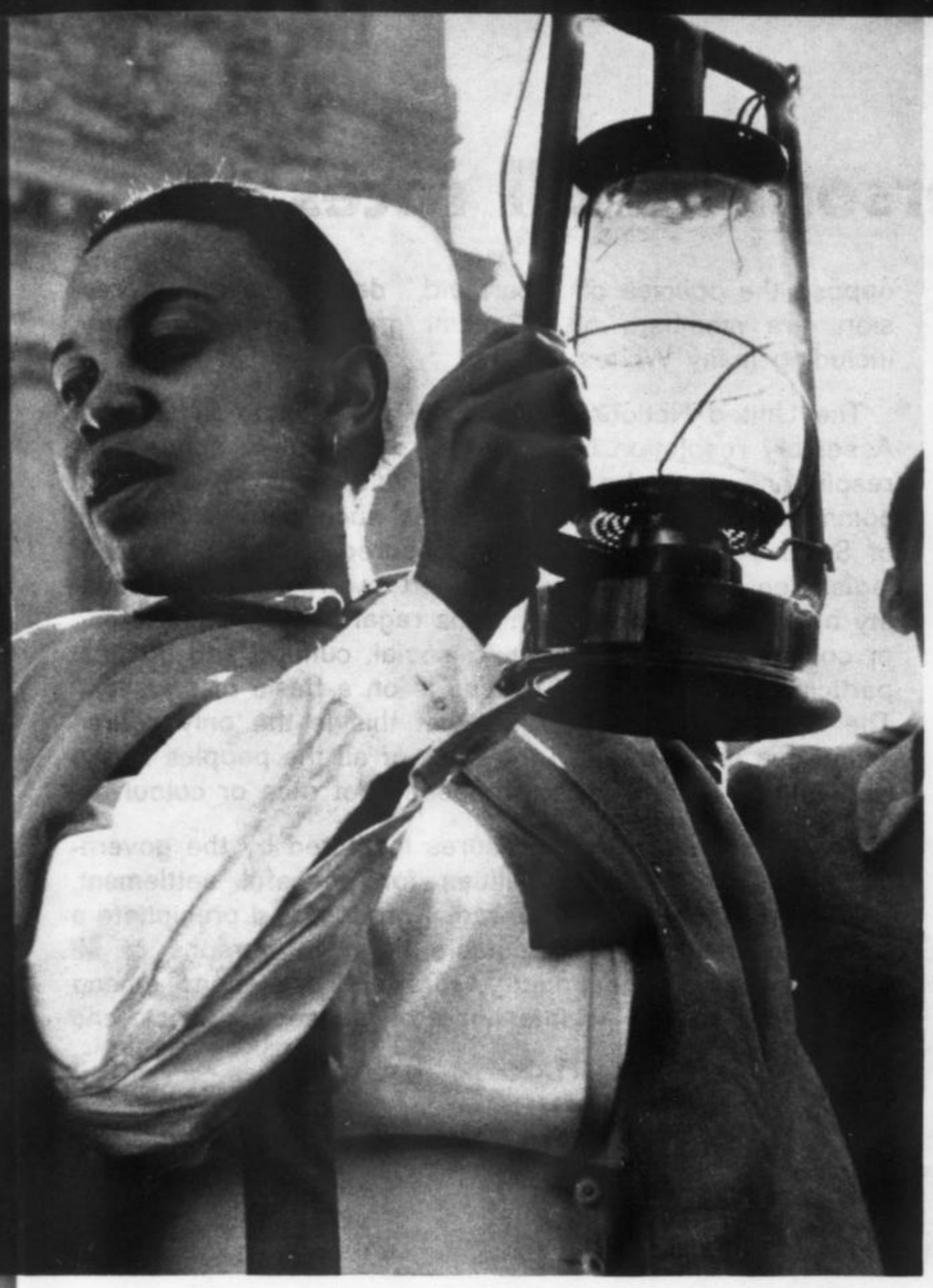
> "The total mortality rate for all cases in the age group one to four shows that Bantu children are dying at 25 times and Coloured children at 15 times the rate of White children."

In Cape Town, one hundred times as many non-Whites as White children die per year of gastro-enteritis. Kwashiorkor, which is considered medically as being the index of the general state of malnutrition in a community, was found in five per cent of the Bantu children treated by doctors who assisted in a recent study.

The general infant mortality rate of African children is one of the highest in the world, varying from over 200 per 1,000 in the cities to 300 to 400 in some of the rural areas. The corresponding figure for White children is 27, which is one of the lowest in the world.

Added to the poverty, malnutrition and disease are the constant humiliations suffered by the Africans because of the complex laws restricting their freedoms and laying down heavy penalties for breaches.

An African cannot enter an urban area without a permit and cannot stay for more than 72 hours without a work permit. An African cannot establish the right to residence in an urban area unless he has lived there continuously since birth or worked continuously for a single employer



for ten years, nor is the wife or unmarried child under eighteen of an African meeting such requirements. Even then he can be "endorsed out" if he takes employment in another area or fails to report within three days of his being unemployed.

The wife of an African worker in town can visit him for no more than 72 hours and only if she obtains a permit from officials on the ground, for example, that she wishes to conceive.

Such laws and regulations have led to serious social problems. The rate of illegitimacy among African children in urban areas is extremely high. The Annual Report of the City Medical Officer of Health for Durban for 1961 states that out of a total of 5,864 births amongst the Africans, 3,665 were illegitimate.

For infractions of the onerous laws and regulations, in the making of which they have no voice, the Africans are summarily imprisoned, fined or "endorsed out" of their towns.

Flogging is a mandatory punishment for various offences. Official figures indicate that in the past ten years 850,000 strokes have been inflicted on penal offenders. Floggings are currently running at the rate of 80,000 strokes a year on 17,000 offenders. The number of offenders flogged today is eight times what it was 20 years ago.

Not surprisingly, the situation has led to bitterness and racial tension and this is recognized even by responsible officials who support the policies of "apartheid."

The South African Government has enacted a mass of repressive legislation in recent years to silence and suppress all opposition to the policies of "apartheid." Such legislation has been further strengthened during the past year.

The General Law Amendment Act of 1963, promulgated in May, provides inter alia for the detention of persons for 90 days at a time without trial on suspicion of having committed a crime or of possessing information on the commission of a crime. This legislation evoked widespread criticism in South Africa and abroad as ending the rule of law and creating a police state.

The Minister of Justice is now empowered to ban political organizations and public meetings. He is authorized to prohibit persons from public activities, restrict their movements, banish them, place them under "house arrest" or detain them for recurring periods of ninety days each. He may prohibit publications or require deposits of 20,000 rand for registration of newspapers. In many cases, the Minister is not required to give grounds for action or may only have to charge the victim with furthering the aims of communism, defined so widely as to cover all active opposition to the policies of "apartheid." The powers of the courts to review his actions are extremely circumscribed.

In June 1963, the Commissioner of Prisons revealed that 5,293 persons had been arrested in the previous year for alleged security crimes; of these, 2,047 had been arrested on charges of attempting to further the aims of the African National Congress or the Pan-Africanist Congress. Hundreds of persons were tried in the past few months on charges of sabotage, association with or furthering the aims of unlawful organizations...

Sabotage, it may be noted, is defined very broadly and carries the maximum penalty of death.

One result of this series of repressive actions was the growing conviction among the opponents of "apartheid," including all the major non-White organizations, that there was no legal means of fighting the policy and that violent resistance was essential to secure equal rights for all the people of the country.

THE non-White people of South Africa had tried a variety of peaceful means to achieve their aims and faced harsh persecution by the Government.

In the post-war period alone, one may recall the Indian passive resistance movement of 1946-48 in which 2,300 persons courted arrest; the Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws in 1952 in which over 8,500 persons of all races were arrested for non-compliance with "apartheid" regulations; and numerous demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes. All these had been countered by the harshest measures of repression and ever more rigorous laws. The government has consistently refused to recognize that the demand by non-Whites for a share of political power in the country is legitimate, and has put down all such demands as mortal dangers to the social order.

To cope with the increasing tension in the country, the government has undertaken a tremendous expansion of all branches of the armed forces, the setting up of air commando units, the establishment of police reserves and home guards, the training of civilians in the use of arms, the development of the radio network to link all of the nearly one thousand police stations, the import of vast quantities of modern arms, and the great increase in the defence and police budgets.

During the period between 1960-61 and 1963-64, the defence budget has nearly quadrupled, while the expenditures on police increased by over one-third. Estimates for the current year are far in excess of the highest annual expenditure during the second World War when South African forces saw action in many theatres.

The problem in South Africa is not merely the perpetuation of inequalities arising from historical developments or the continued existence of such inequities as the denial

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Incalculable harm to persons of all races

of franchise to a majority of the population, the separation of people by race or the discrimination in the sharing of the fruits of labour. Such terms as segregation and discrimination can hardly describe the humiliation and oppression to which millions of people, who constitute a large majority of the population of the country, have been subjected by the policies of its government.

The problem, moreover, is not one of a peculiar political or social system which democratic-minded peoples find objectionable, nor one of colour or race, but the consequence of a racialist ideology enshrined as state policy and implemented by force against the majority of the people of the country, in violation of the obligations of the South African Government under the United Nations Charter. The racist creed that the policies of "apartheid" are based on is the very antithesis of the concept of international co-operation which is at the root of the existence of the United Nations.

The Special Committee noted that the major non-White organizations favour equality of all citizens, irrespective of race, and that they have repeatedly expressed a desire for discussions to ensure progress towards equality. It has also noted with great satisfaction that among those who oppose the policies of "apartheid," despite severe repression, are members of all racial groups in the country, including many Whites.

The United Nations has already made clear in General Assembly resolution 616 B (VII), reaffirmed in subsequent resolutions, that the peaceful development of a unified community in multi-racial societies such as the Republic of South Africa would best be assured "when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all racial groups is on a basis of equality." The Special Committee feels that this is the only course which can serve the true interests of all the peoples of the Republic of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour.

The harsh repressive measures instituted by the government frustrate the possibilities for peaceful settlement, enhance hostility among the racial groups, and precipitate a violent conflict with incalculable harm to persons of all racial groups in the country, to friendly relations among states and to the maintenance of peace in Africa and the world.

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* out of print
** being reprinted

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Annual subscription: $7.00; 35/-.

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JANUARY 1950: What Is Race? by Humayun Kabir.

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SEPTEMBER 1950: An Indian Girl with a Lesson for Humanity; Study of Brazilian Ethnic Groups Will Help Unesco to Fight Race Prejudice.
APRIL 1951: Brazil, Land of Harmony for All Races? by Alfred Métraux

OCTOBER 1951: Don't Trust the Valonians, by Georges Fradier.

JANUARY 1952: It Happened in a Tiny Village, by Georges Fradier
FEBRUARY 1952: The Book that Roused a Nation a Hundred Years Ago, by Jacques Guérif

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1952: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Brazil, by Alfred Métraux; The Negro's Role in Brazilian History, by Gilberto Freyre; Sao Paulo, by Roger Bastide; Rio de Janeiro: Melting Pot of Peoples, by L.A. Costa Pinto; Shades of Colour and of Meaning, by Harry W. Hutchinson; Attitudes in the "Blacklands," by Charles Wagley; Bahia, the Negro Metropolis, by Thales de Azevedo

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1953: A Man with Racial Prejudice is as Pathetic as His Victim, by Alfred Métraux; The Origins of Races Still Steeped in Mystery, by W.W. Howells; The Racial Heritage of H.M.S. Bounty, by Harry L. Shapiro; The Christian Attitude towards Race, by Father Yves Congar; To Worship, Live and Work Together Regardless of Race, by W.A. Visser't Hooft; You Have to Learn to Make Friends, by Syeda Saiyidian (Age 9); Sociological Aspects of Race Relations, by E. Franklin Frazier; The Bushmen of Australia in Modern Civilization, by A.P. Elkin; Race Relations and Public Housing in the United States, by Patricia Salter West and Maria Jahoda

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FEBRUARY 1954: Hawaii, Racial Crossroads of the Pacific, by Harry Shapiro

JUNE 1954: A Look at U.S. Race Relations, by Morroe Berger; The Decision Was Unanimous, by Murray Stedman, Jr.; The Greatest Test of "Civil Rights," by Thurgood Marshall; Social Scientists Testify on Segregation, by Otto Klineberg; Going to School with the Negro; The Road towards Equality

FEBRUARY 1956: The Power of Words, by Cyril Bibby

JUNE, JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER 1958: The Roots of Prejudice, by Arnold M. Rose

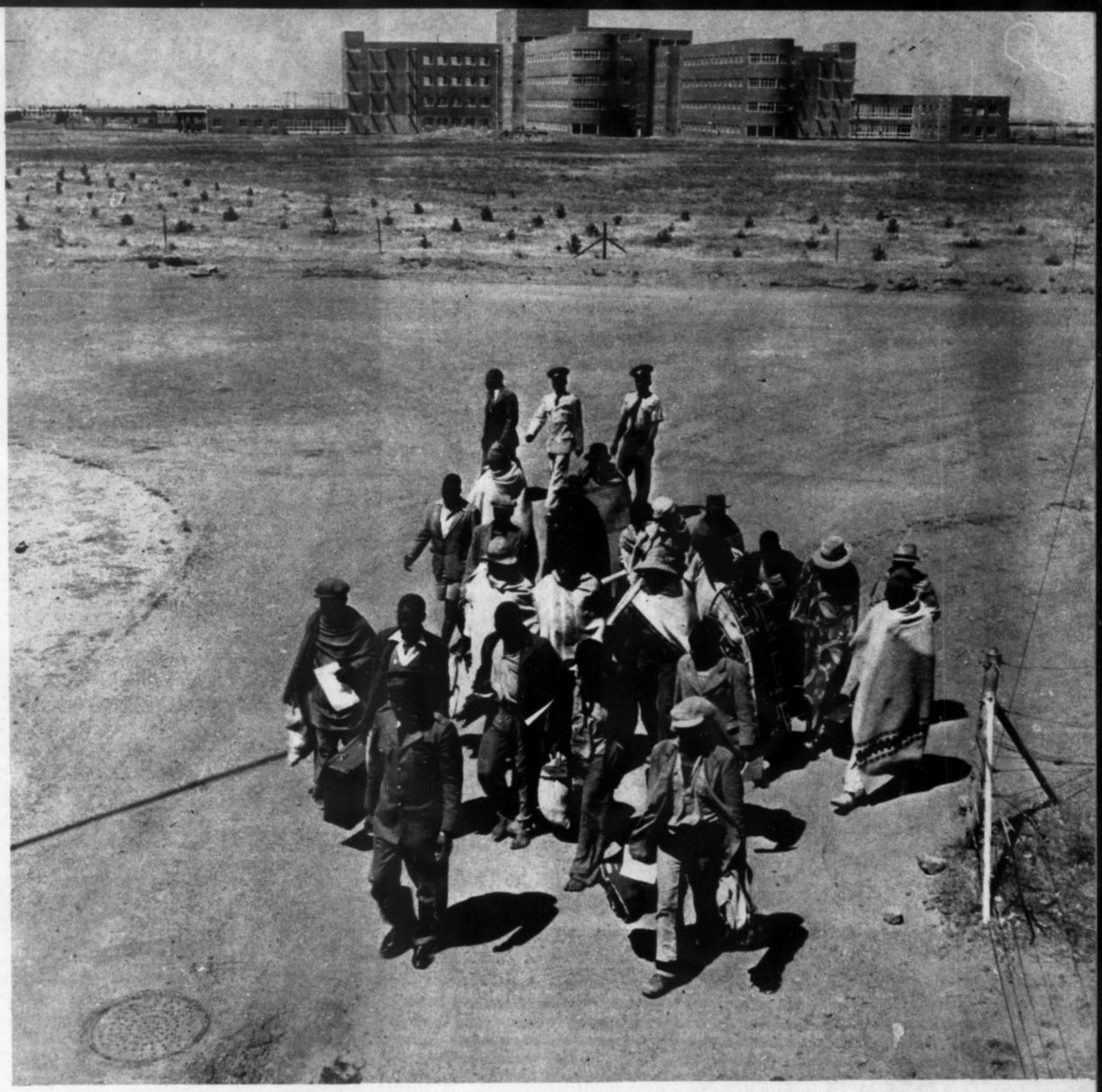
APRIL 1959: Current Misconceptions about the Australian Aborigines, by Ronald M. Berndt

OCTOBER 1960: Race, Prejudice and Education, by Cyril Bibby; A Look at Modern Anti-Semitism, by Léon Poliakov; The Racial Landscape of Latin America, by Alfred Métraux; X-Ray of the Racist Mind, by Marie Jahoda; Frank Conversation at an Empty Table, by Khushwant Singh; The Cinema Says No! to Racism, by Louis Marcorelles

JANUARY 1961: Christianity and Anti-Semitism, by Father Yves Congar; A Few Comments, by Léon Poliakov; Letters to the Editor on October 1960 Issue on Race.

FEBRUARY 1961: Towards Racial Harmony, by Alfred Métraux

Note : With the exception of October 1961, all the issues listed are out of print. We refer readers to their local library.



A group of Africans is marched off to an employment centre in Johannesburg. For these men no choice of work exists. In urban areas the movement, residence and employment of non-Whites is strictly controlled. People of the "Coloured" groups are also subject to these rules.

© Paul Almasy, Paris

IT IS STILL NOT TOO LATE...

Supported by laws and acts of repression, the policy of "apartheid" in South Africa has opened the way to violence and to forces that are now leading at an accelerating pace towards disaster. On December 4, 1963, the Security Council of the United Nations appointed a group of specialists to examine ways of resolving the present situation in South Africa through the full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to the entire population, regardless of race, colour or creed. Below we publish an abridgment of the recommendations and comments of this U.N. group. Working under the chairmanship of Mrs. Alva Myrdal, the distinguished Swedish sociologist, who was formerly director of Unesco's Department of Social Sciences, the group comprised Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye, one of Ghana's leading jurists, Mr. Dey Ould Sidi Bara, Deputy Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations, and Sir Hugh Foot, (now Lord Caradon, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations).

THE future of South Africa should be settled by the people of South Africa—all the people of South Africa—in free discussion. There can be no settlement and no peace while the great majority of the people are denied the fundamental freedom to participate in decisions on the future of their country. We are convinced that a continuation of the present position including a denial of just representation must lead to violent conflict and tragedy for all the people of South Africa. We wish, therefore, to emphasize the first and basic principle that all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and should thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at the national level.

In order to give effect to this essential principle, we consider that all efforts should be directed to the establishment of a National Convention fully representative of the whole population. Such a representative National Convention would consider the views and proposals of all those participating and set a new course for the future (1).

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(1) The disenfranchised part of the population constitutes four-fifths of the whole. Under the franchise restricted to White voters only about half voted in 1961 for the Nationalist Party, now in power, and the rest voted for parties which oppose the present "apartheid" policies of the Government.

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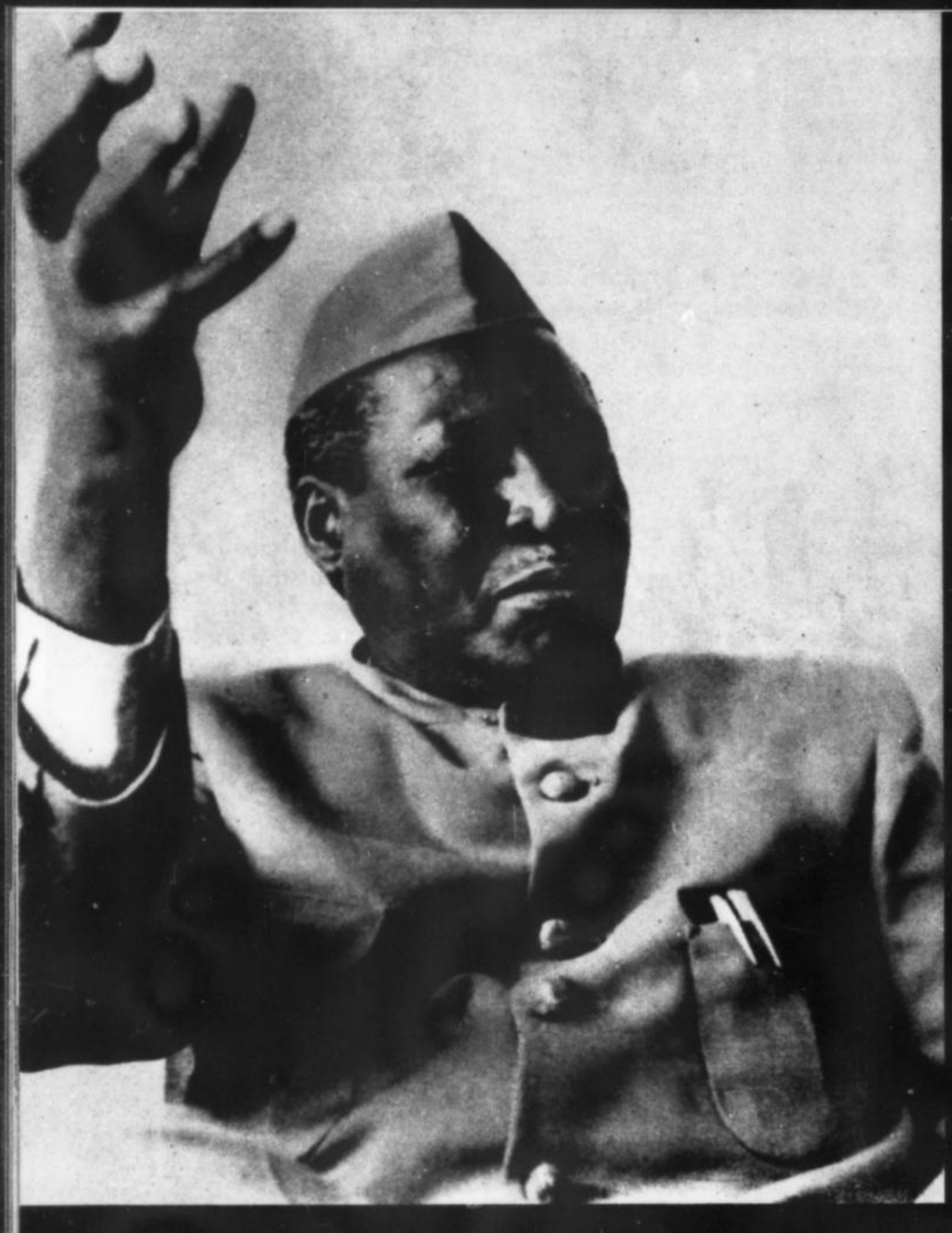
SPOKESMEN FOR FREEDOM & JUSTICE



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Albert J. Luthuli, a former Zulu chief, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, has consistently fought the policy of "apartheid" by methods of non-violence. He has described South Africa as "a vast camp of displaced persons." For his resistance to "apartheid" he has been banished to Natal until 1969. Restricted to this area, he now has practically no contact with the outside world.

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Many White South Africans are opposed to the policy of "apartheid." Above, Alan Paton, author of the famous novel, "Cry the Beloved Country," which has been published in 16 languages. He is president of a party which draws its members from all racial groups and which since 1960 has campaigned actively for the introduction of universal suffrage.

Right, Miriam Makeba, the well-known South African singer. She has been banished from South Africa and now lives in the United States. In July, 1963, she appeared before the U.N. Special Committee. The time has come, she declared, for all mankind to act with firmness to stop the South African Government from dragging the country into a horrifying disaster.

© G. Sa

IT IS STILL NOT TOO LATE *(Cont'd)*

A racial policy condemned the world over

[In March 1961, an All-In-African Conference unanimously demanded a national convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis—irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitations. This demand was supported by different parties and organizations and prominent persons in academic, religious and public life. A national convention would carry out sweeping reforms. It would introduce a Bill of Rights, incorporating the fundamental principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It would set up a Supreme Court vested with authority to defend equality of rights for all citizens. It would draw up a new constitution for South Africa. Among its other tasks would be the solution of broad economic and social problems, the establishment of rights of freedom of movement and residence and of freedom of opportunity in employment. It would also guarantee education for all, irrespective of race.]

We believe that the mounting condemnation by world opinion and the growing insistence on positive action should now be directed to the achievement of this purpose. It is only on the road of free and democratic consultation and co-operation and conciliation that a way can be found towards a peaceful and constructive settlement. Only thus can all people of South Africa be saved from catastrophe and the world from a conflagration of incalculable consequences . . .

We wish to draw special attention to two main factors in the present situation. On one side is the mounting international condemnation of the racial policy of the South African Government and the growing determination of the African States, in particular, to take positive action against South African racial discrimination and domination. On the other side is the increased persistence and military preparation of the South African Government, coupled with repressive action and legislation which leave many South Africans with the conviction that they have no means of resistance other than violence. These forces are set on a collision course. They approach the crash

at accelerating pace. As the explosion grows nearer the need to endeavour to prevent it becomes ever more urgent.

United Nations concern about South Africa started in relation to the problem of the treatment of people of Indian origin and the status of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa, but for more than a decade—since in 1952 the "campaign of defiance against unjust laws" was organized by non-White organizations in South Africa—the United Nations has directed its attention to the whole problem of "apartheid" in South Africa. Throughout this decade there have been repeated appeals to the South African Government from the United Nations to abandon its policies of "apartheid" and growing demand for action, leading up to resolution 1761 (XVII) of the General Assembly of November 6, 1962 which was passed by a vote of 67 in favour, 16 against and 23 abstentions. Thus for the first time a resolution calling on Member States to impose diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa was passed in the General Assembly with more than a two-thirds majority.

During 1963, the Security Council and General Assembly passed further resolutions calling for an abandonment of "apartheid", the liberation of political prisoners, the cessation of the political trials against opponents of "apartheid" and the termination of sale of armaments and ammunition to South Africa. In regard to the question of South West Africa, the General Assembly made an appeal to Member States not to supply petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. The Assembly's resolution calling for the termination of political trials was passed by a vote of 106 to 1 (South Africa), and the Security Council's resolution of December 4, 1963 was unanimous.

During the recent debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly, condemnation of the policies of South Africa in the strongest terms came from the overwhelming majority of Member States, including those with the closest ties with South Africa. On August 6, 1963 the United Kingdom Permanent Representative spoke of the policies of "apartheid" as "evil, totally impracticable, and leading inevitably to disaster in South Africa itself", and to "certain tragedy" Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., speaking for the United Kingdom delegation in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly on November 12, 1962, described "apartheid" as "morally abominable, intellectually grotesque and spiritually indefensible." On December 4, 1963, the permanent representative of the United States said that "progress in Africa is over-shadowed by the racial bitterness and resentment caused by the policies of the South African Government." He went on to say that it was the duty of the Security Council to ensure an end to the injustice of "apartheid." "not in bloodshed and bondage, but in peace and freedom."

MEANWHILE, the South African Government has become increasingly isolated. In 1961 it left the Commonwealth. It had earlier withdrawn from Unesco and has now withdrawn from the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Labour Organisation, and has been suspended from the Economic Commission for Africa.

Pressure for action, particularly for sanctions, has come most strongly from the African States, and at the Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Addis Ababa in May 1963 a Committee of Liberation was established to co-ordinate material aid to movements of national liberation in Africa . . .

In contrast to and conflict with the increasing international condemnation and demands for positive action to bring "apartheid" to an end, the South African Government has pressed on with greater persistence and gathering speed in the application of the policies which the world has condemned.

In pursuing this course it has been encouraged, and perhaps given a sense of impunity, by a wave of economic prosperity. Dr. Diedrichs, the Republic's Minister of Economic Affairs, was able to claim on March 4, 1964, that South Africa's economy is "among the most dynamic in the world . . ."

These boom conditions have strengthened the determination of the South African Government to pursue its policies of "apartheid" and to supplement its massive powers of suppression by increased financial allocations for repressive action . . .

On March 16, 1964, Dr. Donges, Minister of Finance, announced a record defence budget of 310 million Rand (£155 million). This is 52 million Rand (£26 million) more than in the current year, and this follows on the quadrupling of the defence budget in the past four years. South African production of armaments has risen in those years by 80 per cent. Dr. Donges told the South African

CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE

© N. Mandel

Painter Gerard Sekoto is the son of a mission teacher in the Transvaal. He left South Africa for the U. S. A., where his work has been exhibited in Washington's National Gallery. For the past 15 years he has continued his painting career in Paris.

Congress of Cultural Freedom

In exile free to speak

Ezekiel Mphahlele, a young South African writer, was a secondary school teacher in Johannesburg before he emigrated in 1958 to Nigeria, to teach at the University College, Ibadan. Since last year he has been director of the Chemchemi Cultural Centre in Nairobi, Kenya. He has written many books and articles on problems of Africa.

Faber and Faber, London

Born in Johannesburg in 1919, Peter Abrahams lived there until he was 20. A journalist and writer he returned to South Africa as a special correspondent in 1952. In 1955 he went to Jamaica where he now lives. He is the author of many books and short stories including "Wreath for Udomo," "Song of the City," "Dark Testament" and "Tell Freedom" (an autobiography of his early years in Africa).

IT IS STILL NOT TOO LATE *(Cont'd)*

Last chance to avert ar

Parliament in introducing his budget that the 25 per cent increase in defence expenditure was to "discourage foreign aggression." South African Ministers have, however, never sought to disguise the fact that defence and security expenditure is largely, if not primarily, intended for action within South Africa. Nor have they disguised the fact that the Army and the Air Force as much as the police are concerned with internal security. As the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouche, said in the Senate on March 28, 1960:

> "The task of the Army and Air Force is to take action for internal security as soon as disturbances have reached a degree where the police are unable to control them . . . Greater mobility, armoured protection and increased striking power have been given to twelve of the infantry units at strategic places in the form of Saracens. These Citizen Force units, together with the two Mobile Watches which are organized as Saracen units for internal security, form a shock element in the Army . . Besides these Watches and the units of the Citizen Force the commandos have been organized over the past years in order to ensure that they will be able to act more efficiently for internal security. At the moment, there is a scout corps of twenty-five men with each commando and these will be available immediately in case of internal emergency. . . ."

THESE forces of conflict cannot be disregarded or minimized. Only when the extent of the danger is fully realized is there any hope that action sufficiently drastic will be taken to prevent it...

A race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, and also, in its international repercussions, create a world danger of first magnitude . . .

We emphasize the special importance of world opinion. Many countries, particularly African countries, are directly identifying themselves with the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa, but there is a wider international concern. The conscience of the world has been stirred, and there is a recognition in world opinion generally that the South African problem is unique, demanding exceptional treatment. There is an international crisis of conscience; it arises from the fact that in South Africa there is a government professing to speak in the name of Christianity and the "European race" which is the only government in the world which chooses as its guiding policy not a striving to attain justice, equality and safeguards for human rights, but a determination to preserve privileges, defend discrimination and extend domination to such a degree that it amounts to the organization of a society on principles of slavery. In South Africa the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms is openly pursued as an avowed policy . . .

Some may think that time is past when there is any hope of avoiding the collision which is now approaching, and that the recent declarations and actions of the South African Government rule out any possibility of negotiation. Certainly time is short, and the dangers grow rapidly nearer and greater.

Nevertheless, there is some ground for hope that the point of no return has not yet been reached and that a

ordeal of violence and hate

fruitful dialogue may yet take place among the different sections of the South African population.

Chief amongst the encouraging factors is the insistence on constitutional measures and methods advocated over many years by the parties and organizations opposing "apartheid." Their leaders have displayed outstanding political responsibility and have throughout emphasized that all South Africans of whatever race should enjoy equal rights.

Chief Luthuli, in his Nobel lecture delivered in December 1961, made his famous declaration:

> "The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the full democratic rights. In government, we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of government. In economic matters, we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial 'white only' basis. In culture, we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability. In the social sphere, we will be satisfied with nothing less than abolition of all racial bars. We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black."

At the Conference at which the Pan-Africanist Congress was established in 1959, Robert Sobukwe said that everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa should be regarded as an African; and that there is only one race, the human race.

Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress when on trial in 1962 before being sentenced to five years imprisonment told the court:

> "I am no racialist, and I detest racialism because I regard it as a barbaric thing, whether it comes from a black man or from a white man."

The struggle in South Africa is not a struggle between two races for domination; it is a struggle between the protagonists of racial domination and the advocates of racial equality.

WE believe that if a new course is set now it is still possible to envisage all South Africans enjoying political justice and freedom under a constitution guaranteeing human rights and providing for a democratic system of government. Removal of the restrictions on employment and residence and movement will open up possibilities for far greater industrial and agricultural prosperity. The economy of South Africa can surge forward if the barrier of discrimination is removed. Reduction of expenditure on military and repressive measures will free large sums for development and welfare. And if equal opportunities for education are granted, a great new reservoir of human capacity and skill will be created to contribute to fruitful and peaceful progress. When the burdens of oppression and discrimination and isolation are lifted all South Africans will benefit.

We have no doubt that the cause of emancipation will prevail in South Africa. The great majority of the population cannot be forced back into already overcrowded reserves constituting less than 13 per cent of the country. The right of the human person, the right of each individual to live and work and move freely in his own country cannot long be denied. A political, economic and social system built on the domination of one race by another by force cannot survive.

What is now at issue is not the final outcome but the question whether, on the way, the people of South Africa are to go through a long ordeal of blood and hate. If so all Africa and the whole world must be involved.

We believe that the course of reason and justice which we have advocated—a course which could be promptly and honourably accepted by all—offers the only way and the last chance to avoid such a vast tragedy.

★

The report of the U.N. Group of Experts was submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General on April 20, 1964.

In a letter dated May 22, 1964, the Permanent Representative of South Africa claimed that the report of the Group of Experts "consists to a large extent of inaccuracies, distortions and erroneous conclusions on false premises" and declared that "for obvious reasons the South African Government can see no useful purpose in commenting on the detailed proposals for a National Convention and its agenda."

■ On June 9, 1964, the Security Council urged South African Government to "renounce the execution of the persons sentenced to death for acts resulting from opposition to the policies of 'apartheid' and to end forthwith the trial in progress, instituted within the framework of the arbitrary laws of 'apartheid'."

■ On July 13, 1964, the Government of South Africa replied, and reiterated that South Africa regards "intervention by the United Nations in the judicial processes of a member state as completely illegal..."

■ On June 18, 1964 the Security Council renewed its appeal to the Government of the Republic of South Africa "to liberate all persons imprisoned..." and to accept the main conclusions of the Expert Group that "all people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at a national level."

■ On the same day, the Security Council invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation with appropriate United Nations specialized agencies. to establish an educational and training programme to allow education and training abroad for South Africans.

■ On November 6, 1964, three leaders of the African National Congress, Vuysile Mini, Wilson Kjayinga and Zinaxile Mkaba were executed in Pretoria.

■ On November 16, 1964, the South African Government declared that it would not respond to the appeal and invitation addressed to it by the United Nations to examine the conclusions of the report by the Group of Experts.

■ The case for economic sanctions against South Africa has often been stated in the General Assembly and has been taken up by the Special Committee and the Group of Experts. Recommendations have been made for states to place embargos on the supply of arms, oil and rubber to the Republic of South Africa; to ban the import of gold, diamonds and iron-ore from South Africa; to refuse docking facilities to ships and servicing facilities to aircraft bound for or returning from South Africa; and, among other measures, to refuse to furnish technical assistance or equipment to the Republic of South Africa. The report of the Group of Experts concludes: " It is only through a unanimous decision of the Security Council that the weapon of sanctions can be rapidly effective. Only if action is agreed and complete can the threat of sanctions achieve its purpose."

Letters to the Editor

WHAT THE WORLD SPENDS ON ARMS

Sir,

Arms or Aid? The world can ill afford both, as your excellent November 1964 issue showed so clearly.

1965 is International Co-operation Year. We believe that the best contribution from every government would be for them to cut at least 1% from the arms spending each year—starting in 1965. The money so saved to be handed over to the various U.N. agencies for aid to the developing countries. This would help them to raise their living standards and begin closing the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots".

Unless people everywhere see the urgent need to substitute a planned aid programme for the arms programme half of humanity will continue to suffer premature death from hunger and preventable disease, while the other half lives, in fear, with its vast expensive War Machine.

Mary Clarke
(Women Strike for Peace), U.S.A.
Kathleen MacPherson
(Voice of Women), Canada
Margaret Curnen
(Liaison Committee for Women's Peace Groups), U.K.

Sir,

It is disturbing to discover that centuries of "progress" have brought us, on the pretext of national defence, to the threshold of total annihilation. One can only deplore the fact that governments have not had enough imagination or human feelings to find another answer to the problems of international relations than the ruinous use of force.

V. Larret
Veyrac, France

Sir,

Your November issue was the most impressive I have yet seen. Bravo! for sounding a warning that deserves to be heard all over the world. Could you arrange for off-prints to be made of its contents—at least the articles by Linus Pauling and Alexander Kuzin?

Marcel S. Mandrin de Bruin
Aarau, Switzerland

Ed note: Off-prints of the facts and figures published by The Unesco Courier on arms spending in the world are now available free of charge in English, French, Spanish and German language versions. Requests should be sent to Public Liaison Division, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, Paris.

Sir,

Your November issue diagnosed a critical condition. You helped us to understand the reality of our world where nations base their security on material force. Also you showed us the possibilities of a world without war, or its costly preparation. You described the symptoms and then you went on to show that the cure, the return to wealth was possible. But hasn't the most important part been omitted? Like a good doctor Unesco should show us the causes behind the symptoms and how to act resolutely so as to realize the cure.

The United Nations Postal Administration has a text which condemns the use of nuclear arms as being "incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the charter" Is their preparation any less so?

Should not peace research direct its efforts towards finding a more effective form of safeguard for world peace and human liberty than dependence on military power? Surely it is this inability to put aside military power which is the real barrier to world problems being settled on an international basis? Military power cannot be shared equally; there always remains a certain domination; the more powerful the nation, the less likely to take the risk of making its power international.

Could a truly international peace front base its persuasion on any other than moral force, which only asks to be shared, which will suffer itself, rather than make others suffer, to convince?

Surely behind the "arms race" there lies a wrong conception of security and ideological persuasion? Could you not devote some space to these important questions? Is it possible to make peace with a weapon in the hand?

Patrick Hutchinson
Carsan, France

Sir,

Your excellent issue on the problems of disarmament has revealed the enormous waste of human and material resources that could otherwise be used for the further development of science. You should now devote an issue to the achievements of different countries in using atomic energy for peaceful ends. The fine examples of international co-operation in this field are proof that efforts are being made to remove the danger of war.

Simon Bachhrih
Permi, U.S.S.R.

Ed note: The Unesco Courier has devoted two issues to the Peaceful Atom (Dec. 1953, Nov. 1954) and has published many articles and photo stories on the subject since then. Another issue on "Atoms for Peace" is planned for 1966 or 1967.

Sir,

I am an angry woman, angry because $120,000,000,000 is spent each year in preparation for mass slaughter—and I am afraid that the story of "The Last Flower" by James Thurber may well become a reality.

Arlette Robert
Maisons-Alfort, France

Sir,

The November issue is most impressive and timely. Very few of the people I know are aware of the full issues and possibilities of disarmament.

This issue should be made available to as many people as possible in order to strengthen the belief that something can be done about peace.

J. L. Moon
Shepperton, England

Sir,

As a child who experienced the horrors of the last "war to end wars" I am grieved to see how easily many people accept the possibility of another war, never realizing that it would be on a scale incomparable with any previous conflict. There can be no doubt about the salubrious effect on public opinion of your November issue. Everyone must realize the consequences of accepting the possibility of war and also what may be lost by rejecting the solution of disarmament. This is something that concerns us all.

As I should like to help in making these facts known, I enclose a cheque for ten copies of this issue.

Jeanne Goldberszt
Paris, France

Sir,

The best way to combat the evil of armaments is to keep the public fully informed about the military projects of each nation. Everyone should be told how much is being spent on conventional arms and atomic weapons and made to realize the physical and political dangers that this involves.

I admire your courage in exposing with such clarity the shameful facts about what countries now spend on arms.

R. Jennar
Jodoigne-Souveraine, Belgium

Sir,

The increasing power and efficiency of modern armaments have now made the issue of peace or war the world's No. 1 problem. The Moscow Test Ban Treaty is an important step on the road to disarmament, but it is vital and urgent to take it a stage further. All non-signatory countries with nuclear weapons should adhere to the treaty, and the ban on nuclear explosions should be extended to cover all types of atomic weapons' tests.

Serge Lair
Paris

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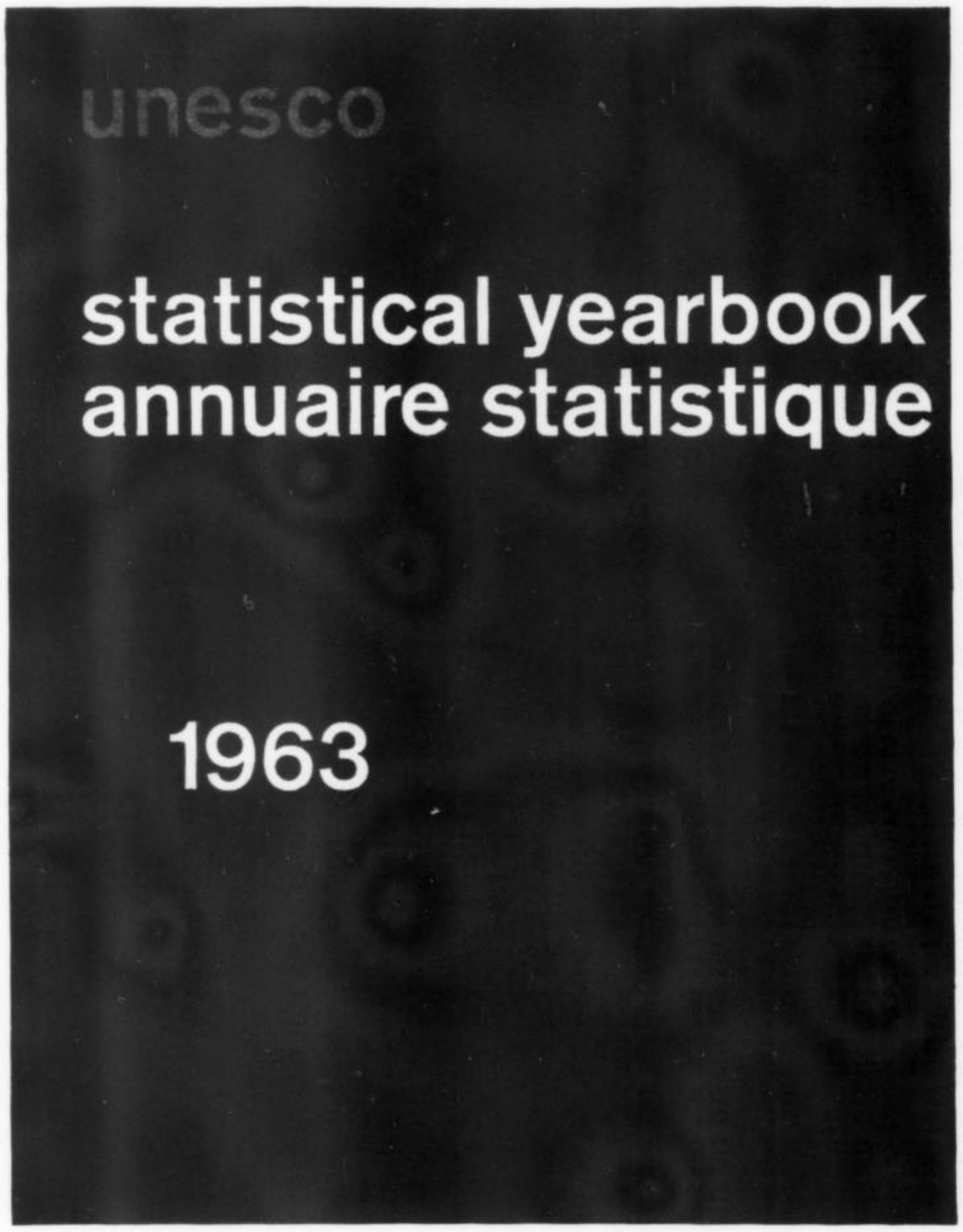

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APARTHEID

For the results of a U.N. inquiry into the consequences of racial discrimination in South Africa, see page 20.

A. P. N.